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PREPARATORY ASIAN REGIONAL
CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
LABOUR ORGANISATION

NEW DELHI
OCTOBER—NOVEMBER 1947

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
GENEVA
1948

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INTRODUCTION

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation was held at New Delhi from 27 October to 8 November 1947.

On 9 August 1946 a letter concerning the proposed Conference was addressed to the Governments of the following Members of the International Labour Organisation: Australia, China, France, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Siam, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The letter reads as follows:

Sir,

I have the honour to communicate to you herewith a copy of a report which I submitted to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its 98th Session (Montreal, May 1946) concerning a proposed regional conference for South-Eastern Asia. The Governing Body approved the proposals contained in this report with the exception that it decided that the term "South-Eastern Asia" should not be used and that the conferences which it decided to hold should be called Asiatic regional conferences.

As soon as the Committee set up by the Governing Body, the composition of which is indicated in the enclosed report, has completed its work, the letter of convocation to the Preparatory Regional Asiatic Conference to be held in New Delhi will be sent to the Governments concerned.

In the meantime, however, the Governments of the States Members of the Organisation mentioned in the report will no doubt find it useful to have the information contained in the report relating in particular to the agenda and composition of the Conference. They will also wish to know that, in agreement with the Government of India, the date of the Conference has been fixed for 6 to 18 January 1947.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) E. J. PHELAN,
Acting Director.

On 6 December 1946 the following letter, concerning the Conference and communicating the agenda, was addressed to the Gov-

ernments of Australia, Burma¹, Ceylon¹, China, France, India, the Malayan Union¹, Nepal, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Siam, Singapore¹, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America :

Sir,

With further reference to my letter of 9 August 1946 concerning the Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference at New Delhi, I have the honour to inform you that the Governing Body decided at its 99th Session (Montreal, September 1946) to hold this Conference at the end of October 1947, instead of in January as previously arranged. At the same time the Governing Body authorised the Director-General, with a view to completing the preparation of the reports to be submitted to the New Delhi Conference, to send a mission of officials of the International Labour Office to the countries concerned for the verification and amplification of the information contained in them. Arrangements are in train for the early departure of this mission.

The agenda of the New Delhi Conference, which was determined by the Governing Body at its 98th Session (Montreal, May 1946) is as follows :

1. Problems of social security ;
2. Labour policy in general, including the enforcement of labour measures ;
3. Programme of action over a period of years for the enforcement of social standards embodied in the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference, but not yet ratified or accepted by the countries concerned ; and
4. The general economic background of social policy, including problems of industrialisation.

In addition, there will be the Director-General's Report, which will deal, among other matters, with the question of the co-ordination of regional activities with the general activities of the International Labour Organisation.

The Governing Body at its 98th Session decided that invitations to send delegations to the New Delhi Conference should be addressed to the three Asiatic Member States in the Far Eastern region—China, India and Siam ; the other two Member States in the same region—Australia and New Zealand ; the Philippines, which is a Member of the United Nations in the region ; as well as the United States of America, the other Member State intimately connected with Far Eastern affairs whose assistance is indispensable in the circumstances for the development of the region. The Governing Body further decided that the Government of Nepal should be invited to send an observer.

The Governing Body decided at the same session that steps should be taken to secure the representation of the principal non-

¹ Through the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

self-governing territories in the region at the New Delhi Conference. On this matter the Director-General consulted by correspondence the members of the Governing Body representing the Governments chiefly concerned, and reported the results of these consultations to the Governing Body at its 99th Session. The Director-General's Report stated that the French Government desired that an invitation in respect of the territories in the French Union in the Far Eastern region should be addressed to the French Government, which would take account of the situation of territories with autonomous Governments in the constitution of the French delegation; that the United Kingdom Government desired that separate invitations should be addressed to it in respect of Burma, Ceylon, the Malayan Union and Singapore, as well as an invitation to the United Kingdom Government, whose delegation would provide for the representation of the interests of those non-self-governing British territories in Asia which are not as yet in a position to send separate delegations; and that the Netherlands Government desired that an invitation should be addressed to it in respect of the Netherlands East Indies, it being understood that the Government would take the necessary steps to ensure that Indonesians would be members of the delegation. The Director-General's Report added that it was understood that the United States Government desired to send an observer delegation, having regard to the regional character of the Conference, and that his correspondence with regard to the composition of the Conference had not led to any proposals being put forward in addition to those approved by the Governing Body at its 98th Session.

The Governing Body decided at its 98th Session that, in accordance with the usual procedure, each delegation to the New Delhi Conference should as a rule be composed of two Government delegates, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate. The number of advisers to be included in each delegation would be left to the discretion of the Government concerned. The Governing Body would be represented by the Chairman and a delegation appointed by it for that purpose.

At the same session the Governing Body decided that the Preparatory Conference in India would be followed by the first Asiatic Regional Conference, which would be held in China in 1948; the agenda of that Conference would be determined by the Governing Body in the light of the proceedings of the Preparatory Conference.

Further information concerning the exact date of the New Delhi Conference, as well as copies of the documents which will be submitted to it by the Office, will be sent to you in due course.

In the meantime I venture to express the hope that the Government of will participate in the New Delhi Conference by sending to it a complete delegation.

I have the honour to be, etc.

*(Signed) E. J. PHELAN,
Director-General.*

On 19 July 1947 a letter in similar terms was addressed to the Government of Afghanistan. On the same date the following letter, concerning the date of the Conference and other arrangements, was addressed to the Governments concerned :

Sir,

With reference to my letter of 6 December 1946 concerning the Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference, which the Governing Body has decided will in future be described as the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference, I have the honour to inform you that the Governing Body decided at its 102nd Session (Geneva, June-July 1947) that the Conference should open at New Delhi on 27 October 1947. It is anticipated that the Conference will complete its work by 8 November 1947.

The Conference will meet in the Constituent Assembly Hall of the Central Assembly Chambers.

I should be grateful if you would communicate to me as soon as possible particulars of the composition of the delegation of your country to the Conference.

It would be desirable to make arrangements as early as possible to reserve hotel accommodation for the representatives from your country, either directly or through your country's diplomatic or consular representatives in India. Should any difficulty be experienced in this connection, I venture to suggest that application be made to the New Delhi Branch of the International Labour Office (Cochin House, 3 Jantarmantar Road, New Delhi).

I attach hereto information supplied by the Government of India concerning rates of accommodation for delegates in hotels and Government hostels.¹

I have the honour to be, etc.

For the Director-General :

(Signed) G. A. JOHNSTON,
Assistant Director-General.

On 26 August 1947 the following telegram was despatched to the Governor-General of Pakistan :

On behalf Governing Body International Labour Office have honour extend cordial invitation Pakistan be represented Preparatory Asian Regional Conference opening New Delhi 27 October 1947 for consideration questions special interest to region. Agenda includes one social security two labour policy three programme of action for enforcement of labour standards embodied in Conventions and Recommendations of International Labour Conference four general economic background of social policy. Delegations expected to attend from China India Siam Philippines Afghanistan Nepal Burma Ceylon Malayan Union Singapore United Kingdom France Netherlands United States, Australia, New Zealand. Delegation of United Kingdom will provide representation non self governing British territories in Asia not represented separately. Delegation of France will be accompanied by five separate delegations from French territories in region. In principle each delegation will comprise two Government Delegates one Employers delegate one Workers delegate with advisers if judged necessary. Letter follows.

Edward PHELAN.
Director-General International Labour Office.

¹ Not included here.

On 9 September 1947 the following letter concerning the Conference and communicating the agenda was addressed to the Governor-General of Pakistan :

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to confirm my telegram of 26 August 1947 extending to you, on behalf of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, a cordial invitation for Pakistan to be represented at the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference to be held at New Delhi.

The agenda of the Conference, which was determined by the Governing Body at its 98th Session (Montreal, May 1946), is as follows :

1. Problems of social security ;
2. Labour policy in general, including the enforcement of labour measures ;
3. Programme of action over a period of years for the enforcement of social standards embodied in the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference, but not yet ratified or accepted by the countries concerned ; and
4. The general economic background of social policy, including problems of industrialisation.

In addition, there will be the Director-General's Report, which will deal, among other matters, with the question of the co-ordination of regional activities with the general activities of the International Labour Organisation.

The Governing Body at its 98th Session decided that invitations to send delegations to the New Delhi Conference should be addressed to the three Asian Member States in the Far Eastern region—China, India and Siam ; the other two Member States in the same region—Australia and New Zealand ; the Philippines, which is a Member of the United Nations in the region ; as well as the United States of America, the other Member State intimately connected with Far Eastern affairs whose assistance is indispensable in the circumstances for the development of the region. The Governing Body further decided that the Government of Nepal should be invited to send an observer.

The Governing Body decided at the same session that steps should be taken to secure the representation of the principal non-self-governing territories in the region at the New Delhi Conference. On this matter the Director-General consulted by correspondence the members of the Governing Body representing the Governments chiefly concerned, and reported the results of these consultations to the Governing Body. At its 99th Session the Governing Body decided that, in accordance with the wishes expressed by the United Kingdom Government, separate invitations should be addressed to it in respect of Burma, Ceylon, the Malayan Union and Singapore, as well as an invitation to the United Kingdom Government, whose delegation would provide for the representation of the interests of those non-self-governing British territories in Asia which are not as yet in a position to send separate delegations ; and that, in accordance

with the wishes expressed by the Netherlands Government, an invitation should be addressed to it in respect of the Netherlands East Indies, it being understood that the Government would take the necessary steps to ensure that Indonesians would be members of the delegation.

At its 102nd Session (Geneva, June-July 1947) the Governing Body decided that a collective invitation to attend the New Delhi Conference should be addressed through the President of the French Republic, President of the French Union, for the French Union as a whole, Cambodia, Laos, Cochin China, Viet-Nam and the French Settlements in India and New Caledonia, it being understood that these various parts of the French Union might send separate delegations to the New Delhi Conference.

At the same session, the Governing Body decided that Afghanistan should be invited to be represented at the Conference either by a full delegation or by an observer.

The Governing Body decided at its 98th Session that in accordance with the usual procedure, each delegation to the New Delhi Conference should as a rule be composed of two Government delegates, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate. The number of advisers to be included in each delegation would be left to the discretion of the Government concerned. The Governing Body would be represented by the Chairman and a delegation appointed by it for that purpose.

At the same session the Governing Body decided that the Preparatory Conference in India would be followed by the first Asian Regional Conference, which would be held in China in 1948; the agenda of that Conference would be determined by the Governing Body in the light of the proceedings of the Preparatory Conference.

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference will open at New Delhi on 27 October 1947. It is anticipated that the Conference will complete its work by 8 November 1947.

The Conference will meet in the Constituent Assembly Hall of the Central Assembly Chambers.

Copies of the documents which will be submitted to the Conference by the Office will be sent to you as they become available.

I venture to express the hope that Pakistan will be represented at the Conference by a complete delegation and I should be grateful to receive as soon as possible particulars of the composition of the delegation.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) E. J. PHELAN,
Director-General.

On 1 August 1947 the following letter of invitation was addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations¹:

¹ Similar letters were addressed to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Civil Aviation Organisation, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and the Interim Commission of the World Health Organisation.

Sir,

I have the honour to convey to the United Nations, in accordance with Article II of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, a cordial invitation to be represented at the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference, which is to be held by the International Labour Organisation in New Delhi in October and November next.

The agenda of the Conference, as determined by the Governing Body at its 98th Session (Montreal, May 1946), is as follows :

1. Problems of social security ;
2. Labour policy in general, including the enforcement of labour measures ;
3. Programme of action over a period of years for the enforcement of social standards embodied in the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference but not yet ratified or accepted by the countries concerned ; and
4. The general economic background of social policy, including problems of industrialisation.

In addition, there will be the Director-General's Report, which will deal, among other matters, with the question of the co-ordination of regional activities with the general activities of the International Labour Organisation.

At its 102nd Session (Geneva, June-July 1947) the Governing Body decided that the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference should open at New Delhi on 27 October 1947. It is anticipated that the Conference, which will be held in the Constituent Assembly Hall of the Central Assembly Chambers, will complete its work by 8 November 1947.

I should be much obliged if you would communicate to me as soon as possible the names and addresses of your representatives at the Conference.

Copies of the documents prepared by the Office on the items on the agenda of the Conference will be sent to you as they become available.

It would be advisable to make arrangements as early as possible to reserve hotel accommodation for your representatives attending the Conference, either directly or, if desired, through the New Delhi Branch of the International Labour Office (Cochin House, 3 Jantar-mantar Road, New Delhi).

I attach hereto information supplied by the Government of India concerning rates of accommodation in hotels and Government hostels.¹

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) E. J. PHELAN,
Director-General.

* * *

¹ Not included here.

In preparing this Record of the proceedings of the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, the same method has been followed as in the records of the sessions of the General Conference of the Organisation.

The Record is arranged as follows :

FIRST PART

Lists of the members of delegations and committees, and of the officers and secretariat of the Conference.

SECOND PART

A verbatim report of the proceedings, consisting of stenographic reports of the original speeches in the case of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretations into English given by the official interpreters to the Conference in the case of speeches delivered in other languages than English.

THIRD PART

Appendices, including the documents and reports of the committees of the Conference and the texts of the resolutions adopted by the Conference.

In addition, the volume contains a table of contents, which precedes this Introduction, and an index to the Second and Third Parts.

FIRST PART

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS, ETC.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

AFGHANISTAN

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :

Mr. Hokam CHAND.

AUSTRALIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. E. R. TOMS, Assistant Secretary,
Department of Labour and National
Service.

Mr. J. C. G. KEVIN, Official Secretary,
Office of the High Commissioner for
Australia in India.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. F. J. R. GIBSON, General Secre-
tary, New South Wales Employers'
Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. A. E. MONK, Secretary, Austral-
ian Council of Trade Unions.

BURMA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Mahn Wim MAUNG, Minister for
Industry and Labour.

Replaced by U WIN, High Commis-
sioner for Burma in India.

U Saw LWIN, I.C.S., Secretary,
Industry and Labour Department.

Advisers :

Mr. A. C. BAKER, Director of Labour.

Mr. Saw Kyaw SEIN, Political Private
Secretary to the Minister for Industry
and Labour.

U Kun ZAW, Deputy Director of
Labour.

U E. HTIN, Assistant Director of
Agriculture.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. H. W. GREY, Burma Chamber of
Commerce ; Manager, Timber Depart-
ment, Steel Brothers & Co. Ltd.

Advisers :

Mr. D. C. ROBERTSON, Burma
Chamber of Commerce ; Senior Assis-
tant, Burmah Oil Co.

Mr. W. MILLER.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Thakin LWIN, President, Trade Union
Congress ; Secretary, Labour Depart-
ment, Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom
League.

Advisers :

Thakin Hla KYWE, Representative,
Burma Trade Union Congress ; Pre-
sident, Dock Workers Union.

U Tin NYUN, General Secretary,
Burma Trade Union Congress.

Thakin Maung HAN NYUNT, Publi-
city Secretary, Social and Propa-
ganda Bureau, All-Burma Peasants
Organisation.

Thakin Ba TIN, All-Burma Trade
Union Congress.

U Hoke KYI, President, Bombay-
Burma Trading Corporation Workers'
Union.

CEYLON

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. M. W. H. DE SILVA, K.C.,
Ceylon Government Representative
in India.

Mr. B. PONNIAH, C.C.S., Deputy
Commissioner of Labour.

Adviser :

Mr. C. K. FONSEKA, Secretary to
Ceylon Government Representative
in India.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. C. H. Z. FERNANDO, Employers' Organisation of Ceylon ; Low-Country Products Association of Ceylon ; Colombo Lighterage Association.

Advisers :

Mr. C. DE ZOYSA, All-Ceylon Omnibus Companies Association.
Mr. J. A. T. PERERA, Assistant Secretary, Ceylon Estate Employers' Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Dr. C. J. C. DE SILVA, Member, Executive Committee, Ceylon Trade Union Congress ; Vice-President, Ceylon Labour Party.

CHINA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. PAO Hua-kuo, Deputy Chairman, Central Preparatory Commission for Social Insurance ; Director, Bureau of Factory and Mining Inspection, Ministry of Social Affairs.
Mr. DJANG Tien-kai, Member, Planning Commission ; Deputy-Director, Bureau of Factory and Mining Inspection, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Advisers :

Dr. FANG I-chi, Chief Medical Officer, Ministry of Health.
Mr. HAH Hsungwen, Director, Department of Public Works and Planning, Ministry of the Interior.
Mr. YALE Y. KAN, Director, Overseas Affairs Department, Overseas Affairs Commission.
Mr. WOU Sao-fong, Substitute Government Representative, Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
Mr. WANG Shih-ying, Director, Central Co-operative Administration, Ministry of Social Affairs.
Mr. WANG Cheng-kuei, Director, Division of Research, Ministry of Social Affairs.
Mr. WANG Chin-piao, Chief, Labour Welfare Section, Ministry of Social Affairs.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. WU Yun-chu, Chairman, Federation of Chinese Industries ; General Manager, Tien Yuan Electro-Chemical Works ; Tien Lee Nitrogen Products Manufacturing Company.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. TIEN Ho-ching, Director and Secretary-General, Federation of Chinese Industries ; Manager, Tien Chu Ve-tsin Manufacturing Company,

Adviser :

Miss CHEN Wen-hsien, Adviser, Federation of Chinese Industries ; Director and Professor, Graduate Division on Social Welfare Administration, University of Nanking.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. LIU Sun-san, Director, Chinese Association of Labour ; Standing Member, Executive Committee, China National Railway Workers' Union.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :

Mr. LIANG Yung-chang, General Secretary, Shanghai General Labour Union ; President, Shanghai Telephone Workers' Union.

Adviser :

Mr. HSI Kwang-lo, Standing Member, Executive Committee, Salt Workers' Union of Tzeliutsin, Szechuan.

French Union**CAMBODIA****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

H. R. H. the Princess Ping Feang YUKANTHOR, Head of the Phnom-Penh Girls' College.
Mr. NOUTH PENN, Minister of State ; Governor of the City of Phnom-Penh.

Adviser :

Mr. A. GAILLARD, Labour Inspector ; Adviser to Government of Cambodia.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Tayabbhay Hiptoolla MACHHWA, Member, Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. LIM-CHRECK, Trade Union Cultural Centre of Education for Cambodia.

COCHIN CHINA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :**

Mr. TRAN-VAN-HUE, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs.

Mr. Y. TURQUET DE BEAUREGARD, Labour Inspector.

Adviser :

Mr. G. E. HUET, Secretary-General, Cereals Committee, Indo-China ; agricultural expert.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. LE VAN MINH, Pharmacist ; Member, Chamber of Commerce.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. R. FAURILLOU, President, Association of Commercial Employees.

FRANCE**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. J. SILVANDRE, Deputy for French Sudan ; Secretary, National Assembly.

Mr. E. G. CHAILLÉ, Inspector-General, Head of Central Labour Service for Overseas Territories ; Director of Indo-Chinese Workers in France.

Advisers :

Mr. A. ANZIANI, Deputy Director for Economic Affairs, Ministry for Overseas Territories.

Mr. E. H. GOUT, Assistant Director, Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Mr. J. AUGENDRE, Deputy Administrator of Colonies, Ministry for Overseas Territories.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. P. JANSSENS, Former President, Saigon Rubber Planters' Association ; Representative, Federation of Indo-Chinese Rubber Producers.

Advisers :

Mr. J. A. LAUTARD, Representative, Federation of Indo-Chinese Trade Associations (Mining and Industry) ; Director-General of mining companies.

Mr. J. M. PAJOT, Federation of Indo-Chinese Trade Associations (Commerce and Transport) ; Secretary-General, Indo-China Chamber for Import Trade.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. A. BOUZANQUET, Secretary, General Confederation of Labour.

Advisers :

Mr. A. TOLLET, Secretary, General Confederation of Labour.

Mr. G. G. JOUAN, Representative for Indo-China, French Confederation of Christian Workers.

FRENCH ESTABLISHMENTS IN INDIA AND NEW CALEDONIA**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :**

Mr. P. G. C. GOUMAIN, Administrator, acting as Labour Inspector (India).

Mr. FOURCADE, Administrator, New Caledonia.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. VALOT, Managing director.

Adviser :

Mr. E. PENTECOST, Employers' Federation (New Caledonia).

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. R. DORERADJOU, Trade Union Research Centre, French Confederation of Christian Workers (India).

Adviser :

Mr. R. M. COLONNA, Union of Secondary School Teachers (New Caledonia).

LAOS**GOVERNMENT DELEGATE :**

H.E. Thao Kou ABHAY, Minister of Justice and Education.

Mr. Thao Nith SINGHARAJ, Head of Prime Minister's Office.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. Le Ky HUONG, Engineer ; Secretary-General, Training Committee, Laos Association of Employers.

WORKERS' DELEGATE :

Mr. R. Ourot SOUVANNAVONG, Secretary, Trade Union Research Bureau, Laos.

INDIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES :

Mr. Jagjivan RAM, Minister for Labour, Government of India.

Dr. Shyama Prasad MOOKERJEE, Minister for Industry and Supply, Government of India.

Substitute Delegate :

Mr. Gulzari Lal NANDA, Minister for Labour, Government of Bombay.

*Representatives of Provinces and States :**Provinces :*

Mr. A. N. SINHA, Minister for Finance, Supply and Labour, Government of Bihar.

Mr. Gulzari Lal NANDA, Minister for Labour, Government of Bombay.

Mr. Prithvi Singh AZAD, Minister for Labour, Excise and Taxation and Stamps, Government of East Punjab.

Dr. T. S. S. RAJAN, Minister for Food and Labour, Government of Madras.

Mr. N. KANUNGO, Minister for Law, Local Self-Government and Development, Government of Orissa.

Mr. SAMPURNANAND, Minister for Education, Finance and Labour, Government of the United Provinces.

Dr. S. C. BANERJEE, Minister for Labour, Commerce and Industries, Government of West Bengal.

States :

Mr. Pranlal T. MUNSHI, Minister for Labour, Government of Baroda.

Mr. T. S. GOKHALE, Minister for Labour and Co-operation, Government of Gwalior.

Mr. V. MAHODAYA, Minister for Labour, Government of Indore.

Mr. O. S. N. SHERIFF, Minister for Law and Labour, Government of Mysore.

Sir Teja Singh MALIK, Minister for Development, Government of Patiala.

Dr. I. B. SINGH, Minister for Labour, Government of Rewa.

Special Representatives :

Mr. V. V. GIRI, Representative of the Government of India in Ceylon.

Mr. J. A. THIVY, Representative of the Government of India in Malaya.

Advisers :

Mr. S. LALL, C.I.E., Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

Mr. V. K. R. MENON, Acting Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

Mr. V. NARAYANAN, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

Mr. F. C. BADHWAR, Staff Member, Railway Board, Government of India.

Mr. N. DAS, Director-General of Resettlement and Employment, Government of India.

Major E. Lloyd JONES, Deputy Director-General of Health Services (Social Insurance), Government of India.

Mr. P. R. NAYAK, M.B.E., Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Industry and Supply, Government of India.

Mr. W. R. NATU, Economics and Statistics Adviser, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Substitute :

Mr. J. S. RAJ, Deputy Economics and Statistics Adviser, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Mr. K. C. BARUA, Labour Commissioner, Government of Assam.

Mr. S. R. BOSE, Deputy Labour Commissioner, Government of Bihar.

Substitute :

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- Mr. F. S. McFADZEAN, Economic Adviser.

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- Mr. D. GRAY, Deputy Commissioner for Labour.
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 Mr. LAUTARD (*France*).
 Sir Har Govind MISRA (*India*).
 Substitutes : Mr. CHIMANLAL ;
 Dr. TIWARI ; Mr. PAREKH.
 Baron VAN ECK (*Netherlands Union*).
 Substitute : Mr. HAUW.
 Mr. WU (*China*).

Substitutes :

Mr. GAVIN (*United Kingdom*).
 Substitutes : Mr. SMITH ;
 Mr. TERRY.
 Mr. HUONG (*Laos*).

WORKERS' MEMBERS :

Mr. BOSE (*India*).
 Mr. HARRIS (*Singapore*).
 Mr. KHOO (*Malayan Union*).
 Substitute : Mr. LEE.
 Mr. LIANG (*China*).
 Mr. LIE (*Netherlands Union*).
 Mr. NAG (*Pakistan*).
 Mr. PAPWORTH (*United Kingdom*).
 Mr. PHADKE (*India*).
 Mr. TOLLET (*France*).
 Mr. YUN (*Burma*).

Substitutes :

Mr. BURHANUDDIN (*Malayan
 Union*).
 Dr. C. J. C. DE SILVA (*Ceylon*).

Mr. J. KHAN (*India*).
 Mr. MALIK (*Pakistan*).
 Mr. MASURKER (*India*).
 Mr. ROBERTS (*United Kingdom*).

CHAIRMAN :

Mr. TAYLOR.

VICE-CHAIRMEN :

Mr. WU.
 Mr. BOSE.

REPORTER :

Mr. DJANG.

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL :

Mr. KURIYAN.

SECRETARIES :

Mr. JAIN.
 Mr. USAKLIGIL.

CLERK :

Mr. LAL.

Officers of the Groups

GOVERNMENT GROUP :

Chairman : Mr. DE SILVA (*Ceylon*).
 Vice-Chairman : Mr. NICHOLSON
 (*United Kingdom*).
 Secretary : Mr. K. G. MENON (*India*).

EMPLOYERS' GROUP :

Chairman : Sir SHRI RAM (*India*).
 Vice-Chairmen : Mr. WU (*China*) ;
 Mr. FERNANDO (*Ceylon*).
 Secretary : Mr. MULHERKAR (*India*).

WORKERS' GROUP :

Chairman : Mr. JOSHI (*India*).
 Vice-Chairman : Mr. MONK
 (*Australia*).
 Secretary : Mrs. MUKHERJEE (*India*).

SECOND PART

VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

FIRST SITTING

Monday, 27 October 1947, 11.15 a.m.

President: Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office

(Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, takes a seat on the platform.)

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — I have the honour, on behalf of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation, to declare open this Preparatory Regional Conference of the Asian States which are Members of the International Labour Organisation. This Conference has been honoured by the presence this morning of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, the possessor of a name which is held in esteem throughout the world and—I can assure him—not less in my own country than here in India. Pandit Nehru has consented to address the Conference and I now have great pleasure in calling upon him to address those present here.

Pandit NEHRU (*Prime Minister of India*) — Mr. Chairman and delegates, I have great pleasure in welcoming you on behalf of the Government and the people of India. Some months ago there was held in this city of Delhi another Conference called the Asian Relations Conference. That was a historic occasion when representatives from various countries of Asia gathered here for the first time and considered all manner of problems, more especially, economic problems. I feel that this Conference is also one of historic significance. The International Labour Organisation, which was started soon after the first World War, has managed to survive all manner of vicissitudes and even the recent tremendous World War. That, I think, is a tremendous achievement, and I should like to pay my tribute to this great organisation, which has already done so much good to the world. The League of Nations, which was the parent body of the International Labour Organisation, has faded away under the stress of circumstances; but the Organisation survived, and it carried on, previous to and during the last great war, and is now—I am glad to say—carrying on with even greater vigour. Even before this last war was over, it adopted the famous Declaration of Philadelphia in 1944; and as I read it, I feel that if the world were governed by the principles laid down in that Declaration,

there would hardly be any major problems in this world. So I should like to pay my tribute of appreciation and admiration for the work that this International Labour Organisation has done.

Somewhat inevitably, perhaps, the attention of the Organisation has been concentrated—probably more than the facts of geography warranted—on problems other than Asian problems. I do not wish to minimise the work which is done in Asia; nevertheless the perspective was largely—if I may say so—European. Again, political factors also came in, that is to say, a number of Asian countries were under colonial domination, and politics and economics are interlaced so that one cannot separate them. One effect of this political domination in various Asian countries was to turn the minds of men in those countries towards the achievement of political freedom. The economic issues were somewhat hidden by this political struggle for freedom, although the economic issues of course can never be ignored and are apt to produce catastrophic consequences if you seek to ignore them. There was this difficulty in Asia, and now, when most of the countries in Asia are politically free or, I hope, on the verge of freedom, these economic questions are coming very much to the fore.

We are meeting here in Delhi and many of you may know that we are faced with very grave problems in India, grave problems of many kinds, more especially economic problems. Our time is taken up by our own problems at the moment, but nevertheless we have welcomed your coming here in spite of our preoccupations because we do think that the problems of the moment will pass. But the essential problem which we seek to tackle remains and has to be tackled; and whatever our other preoccupations might be, it will be fatal for us or for those who have any responsibility in any other country to forget these major economic issues. We talk of world peace and even now, as we meet here, the United Nations General Assembly is meeting in New York to consider major matters of policy between nations. Nevertheless the essential basis of world peace must be, as I think the Declaration of Philadelphia states, social security, liberty, social justice for all in every country. I think one of the phrases in that Declaration is worthy of remembrance. "Lasting peace", it is said, "can only be based on social justice." Again: "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere." If we remember those two statements and work in accordance with them, I think we shall be nearer a solution of world problems than we were on the political level. Again, that Declaration refers to the right of all human beings to material wellbeing and spiritual development, including freedom and dignity and economic security.

I take it that we who have met here are not only sympathetic to, but are bound by these principles which are laid down by the Declaration of Philadelphia. I have no doubt that if this Declaration were applied in its fullness to Asian countries, world peace would be achieved fairly rapidly. It is not because I myself am a resident of India and Asia that I want to attach greater importance to these vast regions—though perhaps that might affect my vision. But it is true that the problems in Asia have been neglected in the past. It is true that—whether through the impact of history or for economic reasons—they are the outcome of contacts with Europe and America. Others are on the borderline, and come into the picture only in so far as they affect Europe and America. I need hardly say that no Asian will accept that perspective or that approach. Indeed, no citizen of the world can do so if he wants to understand rightly what is happening and to find a solution for what is happening. It is not a question, again, of rich and powerful countries being generous, though generosity

is always good. It is a question of viewing the whole context of things in their proper perspective. As the Declaration of Philadelphia states, "poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere", just as some infectious disease somewhere may be a danger to healthy conditions elsewhere. Even rich and powerful countries may be drawn into some kind of economic world vortex because conditions in Asia and the standards of living in Asia are very bad and very low. Therefore it becomes important that there should be a raising of these standards of living in Asia; in other words, that the common man should go up in the scale of things, and that we should consider all our problems in terms of that common aim in Asia.

I suppose there are hardly any regions in the world which are more closely and heavily populated than India, China and Indonesia, not only because of their vast numbers but also for various other reasons. The wellbeing of those regions and of the people there and the raising of their standards are exceedingly important. How do we view those questions? In the past the whole mass of these regions were colonial territories. Their representatives in a sense were representatives of the dominating metropolitan Powers and not of their country. Gradually this has changed. It has not changed sufficiently yet. Even now parts of Asia are not properly represented in this Conference because their metropolitan Powers do not choose that they should be properly represented. I am sorry for that, because it rather lessens the effect of this Conference; it creates a certain ill-will and ill-feeling, and the influence that the Conference should have on the peoples of those countries is not felt there because the method and work is not conducive to it. I hope the time will come soon when every form of colonialism will disappear from Asia, and I hope that this Conference—which is very representative, as it is—will be even more representative of the peoples of Asia than it is today.

I am glad to welcome here—I believe they have come for the first time to such a conference—people from Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, and certain parts of Indo-China, and I understand that representatives of the Philippines will be coming soon. I regret that some nations are not represented here—some countries of Asia, like Japan, Korea, the Indonesian Republic, and parts of Indo-China, the Viet-Nam parts of Indo-China. I appreciate the difficulties of this Organisation, which is an intergovernmental organisation. It cannot bypass Governments by approaching peoples direct, though in its original Charter an attempt was made to get the co-operation not only of Governments but of workers and employers, which was perfectly right. I hope that this difficulty will be got over and these countries will in future find proper representation, because—if I may repeat—if any large part of Asia is sick, that sickness will spread. It is not enough for political difficulties to be pointed out when a patient is dying or is likely to infect others. We cannot ignore vast areas of territory because some dominating Power or metropolitan Power considers itself the representative of those people and is not prepared to give proper representation to others.

Now in India, referring to my own country, we are faced with many grave problems—economic in the main. You may read the newspapers and find out something of our present troubles, which have been serious and which continue to burden our mind even now. But may I tell you that, serious as those troubles are in our mind, the most important question in India is nevertheless an economic one, and if we do not solve it, or better it, our troubles will increase. Essentially, it is the problem of poverty, of unemployment, of semi-starvation for large numbers of people, of low

standards of living of vast numbers. The International Labour Organisation in the past has dealt with industrial questions, the living conditions of industrial workers, and also to some extent with agricultural conditions and agricultural workers. Nevertheless, if I may say so, it has paid somewhat more attention to industrial labour than to agricultural labour. I do not wish you to pay any less attention to industrial labour, because that is very important, and even in India it is a very important vital element in the community. Nevertheless, India and most countries in Asia are still, and are likely to continue to be, predominantly agricultural countries. Therefore, in India, any approach to these problems must primarily take into consideration agricultural conditions and their improvement. We have today a major problem—the food problem—which depends on the development of agriculture according to modern methods. We have been impeded in the past, owing to many reasons, political and others. One of these major reasons has been the land tenure system in this country. We cannot make real progress under semi-feudal land tenure systems. We as a Government are committed to remove the whole of the old land tenure system. We are committed to the abolition of the *zamindari* or big landlord system, after paying adequate compensation. I am sorry that there has been delay in this because of other reasons, but we do wish to proceed in this matter as rapidly as possible because we think that that is the basis and foundation of every form of progress that we envisage. So also, I think, in other countries of Asia agricultural and land tenure problems will have to be tackled rapidly so as to establish a basis on which they can build up progress and better and better living conditions. I hope that this Conference will pay particular attention to these agricultural and land problems.

As a matter of fact, we have arrived at a stage when we cannot isolate one problem from another. If we seek to improve agriculture, say in India, we have to think in terms of removing the excessive burden on the land. One of the principal reasons for the poverty of India has been the overburdening of land, that is, the lack of other occupations for the people, so that they have to fall back on the land. It is a long and dismal story, and how unlike that of other countries. During the last 150 years or so the rural population of India has grown at the expense of the urban population. In most countries in the world urban populations have grown. In India, leaving out the last ten years or so, the rural population has grown and is becoming a progressively greater burden on the land in the absence of other occupations. Obviously this can only be remedied, and should be remedied, by the transfer to other occupations of a large proportion of the agricultural population of India.

So even from the point of view of land we want the development of industry—big industries, small industries, cottage industries, in fact, every kind of industry. Also, of course, from other important points of view—the growth of the wealth of this country and greater production—we want the growth of industry. If, therefore, we consider the agricultural aspect, we are immediately thrown back to a consideration of the industrial aspect of the question. You cannot separate the two : they have to go together. Again, if we think of the industrial aspect, we have to think of the development of the social services, sanitation, health, education, etc. We have to think of transport. We have to think of so many other things. In other words, all the aspects of the problem become interrelated and we have to advance on a large number of fronts simultaneously. If we advance on one front, other problems confront us on the way and we have to stop there. Therefore it becomes necessary for us somehow to plan all this in our minds

and in our activities. Without that measure of planning, we cannot make progress all along the line. And when we arrive at a stage, as we have arrived today, of imminent crisis, not only in India but all over the world, people have to think rapidly and act quickly : otherwise events will overwhelm us.

It is from this point of view that I hope that this Conference will consider matters in some kind of perspective—the world perspective, the Asian perspective—and think in terms not merely of improving the standards of living in this or that country, but of the need that the standards should go up everywhere. The United States is a great, rich and powerful nation, in fact the greatest today. I have no doubt at all that the problem of the United States of America would be tremendously affected if countries in Asia deteriorated their standards to a level which would spell disaster in those countries : even the United States of America's wealth and strength will not save it from the effect of events in Asia. Much more so is this true for other countries, in Europe or elsewhere. So it has become a world problem which cannot be isolated.

Again, it is not a question of a country's being philanthropic or humanitarian or offering help to this or that country. It is in its own interest to see that the standards go up, that disease—the worst possible disease of poverty—does not spread.

In this country we shall try to abide by the decisions of the International Labour Conference to the utmost of our ability. In the past we have tried to do so. I cannot say offhand how far we have completely done so. There has been one difficulty in our way. In the past the Government of India might have agreed to these Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation, but parts of India, called the Indian States, were not wholly amenable to our influence. Their labour laws, such as the Factory Acts, etc., did not keep pace with labour laws in the rest of India. That was not only bad for the people in those States, but it was bad for the rest of India, because conditions there affected our people and they tended to keep down standards here in the rest of India. I hope that all this will be changed in the future ; there should be a certain uniformity in these matters.

It is said, and rightly, that many countries in Europe, large numbers of people in Europe, are on the brink of starvation as a result of the last war and what has happened subsequently. That is so. But may I remind you that that state of affairs has been chronically present here without the war. It is not war alone that brings about blood, sweat and tears, but the economic conditions which are the bane of Asian countries have continually left a trail of blood, sweat and tears behind : and the condition of the common man, the peasant and the worker is not good. That is putting it very mildly.

We complain of labour unrest and labour troubles, and as a member of the Government I have felt annoyed and irritated often enough, because of labour troubles at a time when we want to concentrate on production. If production is essential for all the world, it is certainly so for India. And yet behind those labour troubles are not merely a set of agitators, but certain conditions which necessarily lead to the state of mind that results in labour troubles. I do not wish to blame any particular group, because I think that the blame can be very well apportioned in India to various groups, including, if I may say so, the Government of India. Nevertheless I would tell every representative of every group that this question can no longer be considered in an isolated way in order to protect this or that

vested interest. We are facing a serious crisis and unless we meet things halfway we shall not solve it.

I would have liked at this moment of crisis, when we want greatly accelerated production, some kind of industrial truce—not to stop progress, for that would be quite fatal—but rather that every trouble and strife should be decided in a judicial way by arbitration, consultation and adjudication. I am myself convinced that many of these troubles could be decided that way to the advantage of all parties concerned. We have inflation, though not so bad as in some other countries; nevertheless it is bad enough, with the result that the wages and salaries we pay seem bigger than they were. Clearly, in terms of money they were not bad. Prices have gone up, wages have gone up, but the gap between the prices going up and wages going up is not covered. And if a self-satisfied employer points out that he has doubled the wages, this is not a sufficient answer, because prices have gone up three times higher and more. The question must be considered not only in a humanistic way but in a practical way, by trying to reach a general level. If that is realised, then the problems will solve themselves. If not, all the goodwill in the world and pious expressions cannot get over the gap between a person's income and his minimum requirements, and there is bound to be trouble. I hope therefore that the lead that this Conference will give will bring about industrial peace, that is to say, will lay down conditions for the progressive improvement of labour and agricultural conditions, which will themselves lead to industrial peace.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — It is now some years ago—the Report of the Director-General points out that it was in the early 'thirties—that the proposal was first made to hold a Regional Conference of Asian States which are Members of the International Labour Organisation. The proposal has been renewed from time to time, but hitherto circumstances of one kind or another have prevented the project from being carried out. Now at last, after some fifteen years, we are happy that the Governing Body has found itself able to include this present Conference in the programme of the Organisation and to implement the proposition which one of the oldest members of the Governing Body, Sir John Forbes Watson, has described as the most important initiative which the Organisation has taken in its history. And I feel certain that both the Governing Body and every member present will wish my first word to be a word of the warmest thanks to the Prime Minister for the warm welcome and for the inspiring message which he has delivered to us—a message which, in a very real sense, interprets the high ideals on which the Organisation is founded. I am sure you will like me to convey to the Government of India our warmest thanks for their generosity and for their hospitality, which has made possible the holding of this Conference in New Delhi.

Much is expected of this Conference. In the arrangements which they have made for the work of the Conference and for the comfort of the delegations, the Government of India have done everything which it is possible for any Government to do in order to render these meetings a real success. Our gratitude to the Government is all the greater because they themselves are in the process of assuming complete responsibility for the government of their own country and they must be greatly preoccupied with the heavy duties which that process entails. That in the midst of those deep preoccupations they should have found time to make arrangements for this Conference is something for which all of us cannot be too grateful.

I believe, too, that the Governing Body and the Organisation as a whole would not desire me to allow this occasion to pass without wishing India and her sister State of Pakistan god-speed on the road on which they have just set out. In the hearts of all of us there is nothing but goodwill for these two countries and we pray that their new States will not only prove a blessing to the peoples of India and Pakistan but will enable those peoples to make an even greater contribution than in the past to the attainment of peace and the progress of mankind.

This Conference represents a landmark in the history of the International Labour Organisation. It is significant not merely because of the nature of its agenda. That agenda is both formidable and important. Upon the way we tackle it, upon the sincerity and co-operation which we bring to our discussions, and upon the outcome of our deliberations much will hang in relation to the happiness and social progress of the peoples of Asia.

But this Conference has a greater significance than that. This is the first regional conference of the Organisation to be held outside the American continent—the first regional conference of Asian States Members of the I.L.O. The regional approach to the I.L.O. problems is not new. As the Director-General points out, those who framed the original Constitution of the Organisation were conscious of the need for such an approach and made provision for it. The amended Constitution which was drawn up in 1946, and needs only ratification to bring it into operation, goes further and specifically recognises the desirability of a regional organisation and of regional conferences. The extension of the regional approach to international problems is, with certain safeguards, a development which we welcome. The different regions of the world have their different problems. Even in such matters as remuneration, hours, conditions of employment and of work, social insurance, welfare and other matters, differences arise, not indeed of principle, but of the method and tempo of the application of agreed principles. It is natural then, and indeed desirable, that the States in particular regions should wish to discuss together their special problems and to consider together how to deal with those problems. Such discussions, so long as they are carried on within the framework of accepted principles, should only bring benefit to the countries immediately concerned and be a source of strength to the Organisation as a whole. Nevertheless, it must never be forgotten that the ultimate aim of the International Labour Organisation is to raise the standards universally, to adopt common minima for all countries and, finally, to bring the standards in the more backward countries up to the levels of the most advanced countries. Within the limits set by this principle, the regional approach to problems of social advancement is not only a necessary complement of the general approach, but it can make an invaluable contribution to the full attainment of the objectives of the Organisation. But too great a preoccupation with the regional aspect, to an extent which might involve a departure from the principle of universality, would not only undermine the whole basis of the Organisation, but would in the end do a great disservice to those countries which most need the help which the I.L.O. can give. Having said that, let me repeat that the development of the regional conference, properly used, can be of the greatest value, and everyone connected with the Organisation will welcome the extension of the system of regional conferences to the countries of Asia and will look forward to great and lasting benefits ensuing both to those countries and to the Organisation as a whole.

There is another and even more compelling reason for believing that this Conference is of great importance. Two or three weeks ago, I had the

privilege of addressing the Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of all the specialised agencies, and I venture to repeat to you here a few of the words that I used on that occasion. In the end, I said, all these international organisations which the countries of the world have set up will be judged by the answers to questions like these : " Have you banished war ? Have you got rid of fear ? Have you done away with want, with poverty and with unemployment ? Above all, have you secured for the lowliest individual, in the most powerful as well as in the most insignificant State, that liberty of the person which is the foundation of all other freedoms and without which all social progress is of little account ? "

Those are the objectives which lie before us. They lie today a long way ahead. We live in a troubled and threatening world, the outlook is dark, the future is uncertain ; the high hopes with which we acclaimed the end of the war, only two short years ago, have receded to the horizon and are almost out of sight. Paper plans, however perfect, Conventions, Recommendations and resolutions, however well drawn, however full of the most unimpeachable sentiments, cannot by themselves bring us to our goal. We can recover our hopes, we can renew our vision, we can achieve our aims, but only if we are all prepared to work together, to pool our ideas and our efforts, to put everything we have into the common stock. Above all, we need a re-establishment of spiritual values and we need a real meeting of men's minds. I have never wavered in my belief in the International Labour Organisation and, during my period of office as Chairman of the Governing Body now coming to an end, I have lost no opportunity of proclaiming my faith, in season and out of season, in the mission of this Organisation. It is because I believe that the I.L.O., by bringing together not merely representatives of Government, but representatives also of employers and workers, can do so much to achieve that meeting of men's minds which I regard as so vital because I believe that the world needs, today as never before, the culture, the wisdom and the experience of the East, because I believe that the I.L.O. can do more than any other organisation to bring the East and the West together—it is for these reasons that to me this Conference possesses a significance that extends far beyond its regional importance, far beyond the wide scope of its agenda. There are three words at the beginning of the Atlantic Charter which catch the imagination. You remember how that great document opens ; it goes something like this : " The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom being met together ". And these are the words that I think catch the imagination : " *being met together* ". We meet together here in Delhi, people from many lands, mainly from Asia and the Pacific but from other countries too, and from the delegation of the Governing Body representing all the States which are Members of the International Labour Organisation, a body of people with the same mind, with a common purpose, possessing common ideals. Let us then move forward together to our common objective, strong in our purpose, firm in our faith, trusting in each other. If we go forward in that spirit, keeping our feet on the ground but keeping our eyes on the horizon, then indeed may all the people of the earth hope soon to realise the new birth of freedom.

Sir SHRI RAM (*Employers' delegate, India*) — It fell to my lot not very long ago at another Asian conference, the first of its kind, to have the privilege of welcoming to my country representatives from the different Asian countries and observers from elsewhere ; and it is again my privilege similarly to welcome you all on behalf of the employers on this occasion

when we are holding this Conference, also the first of its kind. I do so with the utmost pleasure and sincerity.

From one cause and another—and I do not wish to go into them now for nothing will be gained thereby—the special circumstances and needs of Asia had in the past been either insufficiently recognised, or even when recognised not adequately considered by the Organisation under whose auspices we are meeting now. All that, however, is a thing of the past, and the fact that we have met now as an Asian Conference gives us an opportunity to consider our own peculiar problems and find suitable solutions for them, appropriate to our special conditions and needs. The manner in which we shall solve these problems and the measure of justice that we shall mete out to our less fortunate brethren and sisters in our countries will determine how far we in Asia shall resume the place in the world which we occupied two centuries ago. Conferences like this give us opportunities, and it is for us to utilise them to the advantage of all, to found and build up a better social order than at present, so that there is sufficient for all and there is no avoidable social injustice.

As an original Member of the International Labour Organisation, my country has from the beginning taken keen interest in the activities of the Organisation; and notwithstanding our handicaps, our industrial backwardness and insufficient political and fiscal freedom, we have striven at all times to give effect to the best of our ability to all important Conventions and Recommendations of the Organisation. But our problems are somewhat different from those of Europe and America, as the convening of this very Conference will show; and I am confident that our deliberations and recommendations, made as they will be with reference to our own conditions, will make the International Labour Organisation even stronger than before.

It is obvious that to the extent we in Asia catch up with the rest of the world in the matter of industrial development and of social security, to that extent the whole world and not we alone shall benefit. The most urgent need of Asia is to raise her standard of living; in other words, to increase her production all round; and I hope that the decisions and recommendations of this Conference will have this end at all times prominently in view. Abstract propositions about social, *i.e.*, distributive, justice will lead us nowhere unless there is sufficient to go round at least to feed and clothe all.

As you all know, hardly any country in the world has sufficiently recovered from the effects of the last war, and in many countries the situation has been complicated by local political upheavals from which—I am sorry to say—India has not been free, even though I hope that we have seen the worst and that things will be better in future. Anyway, we in this country have entered on very great political responsibilities, the satisfactory discharge of which will not be possible except through the adoption of equitable standards of social justice. From this point of view, therefore, there is an added reason why I welcome the holding of this Conference in this country, for I have no doubt that the standards of social security and justice which this Organisation has been fostering would help in the formation of a stable social order in this country. On behalf of my country, therefore, I wish specially to thank you for your presence here on this occasion.

Fellow delegates and observers, I will not take up any more of your time except to say once again that I welcome you all cordially to my country. I sincerely hope that you will enjoy your visit though conditions are not as pleasant as we should have liked them to be.

Mr. R. A. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — I have the proud privilege and honour of associating myself wholeheartedly on behalf of the Indian working class with the cordial and hearty welcome extended by the Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of free India, to the delegates to this first Asian Conference of the International Labour Organisation. Workers of India feel a sense of pride in being able to have you in their midst in these days of political and economic storm and stress.

Some twenty-five years ago, the attention of the International Labour Organisation was first drawn to the necessity of giving special attention to the problems of the Asian countries. This was done by Mr. N. M. Joshi, the veteran Indian labour leader, who represents the I.L.O. Governing Body at this Conference. He suggested that a documentary study of the Indian labour problems should be undertaken by the International Labour Office for the benefit of Asian workers. In 1930, Mr. S. C. Joshi, who is at present the Chief Labour Commissioner of the Government of India, represented the Indian workers at the International Labour Organisation Conference and moved a resolution that the International Labour Organisation should hold an Asian regional conference. This resolution, though it secured a large measure of support, was not adopted at that time for want of the voting quorum fixed by the Constitution of the Organisation. The next year, Mr. R. R. Bhakle, who represented the Indian workers at the International Labour Conference, promoted a similar resolution and it was adopted by the Conference. Subsequently, Mr. N. M. Joshi, who has been a member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office for many years, pressed this idea in the Governing Body. But it was not found feasible at that time to organise such a conference. I am glad to say, however, that in 1945 the Government of India found it feasible to extend an invitation to the Organisation to hold an Asian regional conference in India and the Governing Body accepted that invitation.

I hope and trust that this Preparatory Conference will be a forerunner of other Asian regional conferences and will prove to be really fruitful from the point of view of the welfare of the Asian working class. At the same time, I would like to make it clear that we do not want our contact or co-operation with the larger international body to be weakened because of the frequent sessions of the Asian regional conferences. We consider it desirable and necessary, as ever before, to maintain a close contact and continued co-operation with countries outside Asia in our endeavour to seek early and adequate solution of our social and economic problems, so that, within a short time to come, Asian workers will attain the international standards of life and work.

On behalf of the Indian workers I again welcome you all most cordially to India and to this Conference.

MESSAGE FROM MR. EDWARD J. PHELAN, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The following cable, dated New York, 21 October 1947, from Mr. Edward J. Phelan, Director-General of the International Labour Office, regretting his inability to attend this Conference and setting forth the reasons for it, has been received by Mr. Rens, Secretary-General of the Conference :

" To my intense regret, I find it will not be possible for me to attend personally the New Delhi Conference, as it is necessary for me to remain in contact with the Assembly of the United Nations at which a number of questions of vital interest to the I.L.O. are still under discussion. I have accordingly decided to appoint Mr. Jef Rens, Senior Assistant Director-General of the I.L.O., as Secretary-General of the New Delhi Conference. Mr. Rens's personal qualities, his intimate association with the preparatory work of the Conference, and his extensive experience in a long series of international meetings eminently qualify him for this responsibility. With Mr. Rens are associated Mr. Kuriyan, Mr. Rao, Mr. Hai-fong Cheng, and Mr. Jenks, and in these, together with the members of the Conference staff, the Conference will have at its disposal a secretariat fully equal, if not superior, to any secretariat which the I.L.O. has been able to provide for any of the meetings held under its auspices

" Moreover, the Conference will have the advantage of the participation in it of an important tripartite Governing Body delegation, headed by Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, who, as Chairman of the Governing Body and Chairman of the Working Party on Constitutional Questions, has guided the Organisation through the most important period of its existence in a way which has evoked universal appreciation and admiration.

" I feel therefore that my presence could add little to the effective working of the Conference or to its intimate linking with the work of the Organisation as a whole.

" I have, however, been responsible for making to the Governing Body the series of proposals which the Governing Body accepted and which have led to the meetings of the Conference, and it is to me a great disappointment that circumstances now prevent me from participating personally in the fulfilment of hopes and plans with which I have been associated since their commencement.

" The Conference has an exceptional importance and indeed an historic task, meeting as it does at the moment when Asian countries are assuming such a prominent role in world affairs, and I am confident that it will lay the foundations of an important extension of the I.L.O.'s activities in Asia.

" The recognition of the I.L.O. as a specialised agency of the United Nations now enables international effort to be co-ordinated in a way which was not hitherto possible, and I therefore feel that in watching over the development of that co-ordination, which is still in its formative stage, I am, in a real sense, participating in your work by helping to prepare the way for more effective international implementation of the conclusions at which the Conference may arrive.

" I send my warmest greetings to the Conference and my best wishes for the success of its deliberations."

MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, INDIA

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The following message has been received from H.E. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Governor of the United Provinces :

“ My greetings to the I.L.O. Conference. The problems of labour are not racial or national, but essentially and fundamentally human and universal, to be approached with wide vision and deep understanding and fitted into the context of contemporary life. May all its deliberations and decisions build an enduring basis for co-operation among all people who are concerned with the welfare of toiling humanity.”

MESSAGE FROM THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The following cabled message, dated Shanghai, 24 October 1947, has been received from Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East :

“ On behalf of the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, I send greetings to the first Conference of the International Labour Organisation to be held in an Asian country. I look forward to close co-operation between the Economic Commission for Asia as their common object the raising of the standard of living of the people of the Asian Continent and trust that the Conference will be animated by a sense of urgency in its labours.”

ADOPTION OF PROPOSED STANDING ORDERS ¹

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — Before the Conference can proceed further it is necessary for it to appoint officers—President and Vice-Presidents—in order to guide its deliberations : and in order to enable the Conference to appoint the President and Vice-Presidents it is necessary for the Conference first to adopt the Standing Orders which allow the Conference to appoint such officers. Are the delegates willing to adopt the proposed Standing Orders in order that we may proceed and at the same time appoint a Selection Committee ?

(The proposed Standing Orders are adopted.)

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — It is now the business of the Conference to appoint its President. Are there any proposals ?

Mr. PAO (*Government delegate, China*) — I propose for election as President of the Conference the name of Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister of the Government of India. We have all been impressed by the great cordiality with which the Indian authorities have welcomed us to Delhi. It is only fitting that the Labour Minister of India should preside over our deliberations. To those of us who have attended the International Labour Conference at Geneva, the Honourable Mr. Jagjivan Ram is not only the Labour Minister of India but also a personal friend, for whose quality of mind we have conceived the greatest respect and admiration.

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix I*, p. 175.

We particularly appreciated the courage and determination he has shown in coming here this morning. On his way back from the International Labour Conference in Geneva, Mr. Jagjivan Ram and my old friend Mr. Lall, who was accompanying him at the time, were involved in a serious aeroplane accident. We are greatly relieved that they are with us today, and we particularly appreciate the high sense of duty which the Honourable Mr. Jagjivan Ram has shown in keeping in the closest touch, from his sickroom, with the preparation of this Conference. It is a source of gratification to find that Mr. Jagjivan Ram is with us to assume the duty of acting as President of this Conference, and I am confident that the whole Conference will try to make his task as light as possible. He is the President and the recognised spokesman of the All-India Depressed Classes League. His appointment as Minister of Labour was, I understand, intended to symbolise the determination of the Government of India to adopt energetic measures to secure equality and social justice for the dumb toiling masses of India. This Conference has a great contribution to make towards securing social justice on the basis of economic development and equal freedom for the dumb toiling masses of all Asia. There could be no more worthy President than the Honourable Mr. Jagjivan Ram.

Mr. A. K. KHAN (*Employers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I have much pleasure in supporting the proposal of my friend Mr. Pao Hua-kuo that the Honourable Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Minister in charge of Labour of the Government of India, should preside over the deliberations of this Conference. It is in the fitness of things that the honourable gentleman who is in charge of the Department of Labour of this great country and the Government who are playing our hosts should preside over the deliberations of this Conference. As an Employers' delegate from the neighbouring State of Pakistan, I have a double pleasure in supporting this resolution, because, as most of you gentlemen know, until a short time ago Mr. Jagjivan Ram was holding the portfolio of Labour for the whole subcontinent of India, including our new State of Pakistan. He is well conversant with all the problems of labour which await a just and proper solution at the hands of our respective Governments with the able assistance and guidance of the International Labour Organisation, and on the just and proper solution of which the happiness, progress and prosperity of millions of our people depend; and without the just and proper solution of those very problems, our newly achieved independence would almost vanish. I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

Dr. C. J. C. DE SILVA (*Workers' delegate, Ceylon*) — It is with great pleasure that I support the resolution so ably proposed by the two previous speakers. As the second speaker said, it is in the fitness of things that the Minister of Labour should be elected President of this meeting. I am sure that not one of the delegates will differ on that fact. India has just won independence. I am sure it will be an absolutely right thing that we should appoint the Honourable Minister for Labour in India as President; and I, coming here as the Workers' delegate from Ceylon, coming here to represent labour in the real sense of the word, by which I mean that labour in Ceylon is composed of indigenous labour and Indian labour—and I represent labour in that spirit with no distinction whatever between indigenous and Indian labour—have great pleasure in supporting the previous speakers.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — The name of the Honourable Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Labour, India, has been proposed, seconded and supported as President of this Conference. There being no other proposition, I declare the Honourable Mr. Jagjivan Ram elected as President of this Conference unanimously.

The Minister of Labour, as you know, has had a very serious accident in recent months, from which he has only just recovered. I think you will all accord with the words of appreciation spoken by Mr. Pao of the courage which the Minister has shown in coming here to sit through this rather lengthy session this morning. He has asked me, with your permission, if I would complete the proceedings of this morning's session and he will address you at a subsequent session.

I would just like to add this also, in accord with what Mr. Pao has said, *that we rejoice that our President has proceeded so far on the road to recovery and we undertake to make his task as light as possible during the rest of the session. The task of the Conference for this afternoon will be announced by the Clerk of the Conference.*

NOMINATIONS FOR VICE-PRESIDENTS

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The three groups will meet this afternoon to nominate the respective Vice-Presidents of the Conference and the members of the Selection Committee.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)

SECOND SITTING

Monday, 27 October 1947, 4.45 p.m.

Presidents: Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans and Mr. Pao

ELECTION OF VICE-PRESIDENTS

Sir. Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — The next business of the Conference is the election of the Vice-Presidents, one from each group. I invite the Clerk of the Conference to read out the proposals made by the various groups.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The nominations are as follows :

Government group: Mr. Pao (China).

Employers' group: Mr. Cresson (Singapore).

Workers' group: Dr. Malik (Pakistan).

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — If there is no opposition, I declare these Vice-Presidents elected.

(The proposal is adopted.)

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS — As the Conference has now three duly elected Vice-Presidents, my task in the Chair is over, and I will now ask Mr. Pao to kindly come and take the Chair for the rest of the sitting.

(Mr. Pao takes the Chair.)

APPOINTMENT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — The second item on our agenda is the appointment of the Selection Committee. I understand the three groups have already made their nominations. I will now ask the names to be given.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The nominations are as follows :

Government members:

Cambodia.

Ceylon.

China.

India.

Malayan Union.

Pakistan.

Employers' members :

Mr. Gavin (*United Kingdom*).
 Mr. Janssens (*France*).
 Mr. A. K. Khan (*Pakistan*).
 Sir Shri Ram (*India*).
 Mr. Van Eck (*Netherlands*).
 Mr. Wu (*China*).

Substitutes :

Mr. Fernando (*Ceylon*).
 Mr. Grey (*Burma*).

Workers' members :

Dr. De Silva (*Ceylon*).
 Mr. Liang (*China*).
 Thakin Lwin (*Burma*).
 Mr. Mirajkar (*India*).
 Mr. Roberts (*United Kingdom*).
 Mr. Souvannavong (*Laos*).

Substitutes :

Mr. M. A. Khan (*Pakistan*).
 Mr. Monk (*Australia*).
 Mr. Sivasambu (*Malayan Union*).

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — If there are no other nominations, I shall take these nominations as accepted.

(The proposal is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — As I understand there are several representatives from the Governing Body on the Selection Committee, I shall ask the Clerk of the Conference to announce their names.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The Governing Body delegation members on the Selection Committee are as follows :

Government : Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans.

Employers : Mr. Erulkar ; *substitute :* Mr. Yllanes Ramos.

Workers : Mr. N. M. Joshi.

(The Conference adjourned at 5 p.m.)

THIRD SITTING

Tuesday, 28 October 1947, 10.45 a.m.

President : Mr. Jagjivan Ram

FIRST REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT — We will take up the items on the agenda. The first item is the first report of the Selection Committee, which will be presented orally.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government Delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — I have the honour to submit the first report of the Selection Committee, which met on Monday, 27 October, at 5.15 p.m.

Election of officers.

The Committee elected Mr. S. Lall, Indian Government member, as Chairman and Mr. B. Ponniah, Ceylon Government member, as Reporter.

Appointment and composition of committees.

The Committee decided to recommend to the Conference that three committees should be appointed to consider the first three items on the agenda, *viz.*, problems of social security, labour policy in general, including the enforcement of labour measures, and programme of action over a period of years for the enforcement of social standards embodied in Conventions and Recommendations not yet ratified or accepted. The Committee also decided to recommend to the Conference that these three committees should be composed as follows :

Committee on social security : 15 Government members, 10 Employers' members and 10 Workers' members.

Committee on labour policy : 12 Government members, 12 Employers' members and 12 Workers' members.

Committee on programme of action : 10 Government members, 10 Employers' members and 10 Workers' members.

General discussion and resolutions.

The Committee further decided to recommend to the Conference that the report on item IV of the agenda¹ and the Director-General's Report²

¹ Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, New Delhi, 1947, Report IV : *The Economic Background of Social Policy, including Problems of Industrialisation* (New Delhi, I.L.O., 1947).

² Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, New Delhi, 1947 : *Report of the Director-General* (New Delhi, I.L.O., 1947).

should be considered together at the plenary sittings of the Conference, and that the proposed resolutions submitted to the Conference, as well as any of the objections to the credentials of members of the different delegations, should be considered by the Selection Committee, unless it was found necessary to make other arrangements at a later stage in the light of the state of business in the Committee.

Mr. NICHOLSON (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*) — The Government group met this morning to consider the representation of Governments upon the proposed committees. When they came to consider the committee on the enforcement of the Recommendations and Conventions, they considered that the numbers might properly and profitably be altered so as to read 15, 10, 10 in place of 10, 10, 10, giving the Governments 15 places upon that committee, with of course the appropriate voting rule. I move that that change be made.

Mr. DJANG (*Government delegate, China*) — I would like to support the proposal put forward by the United Kingdom delegate, Mr. Nicholson.

The PRESIDENT — If there are no objections, I shall consider the amendment by Mr. Nicholson as having been adopted.

(The amendment is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT — The entire report of the Selection Committee is before the Conference. If there are no objections, I shall consider the report adopted.

(The report, as amended, is adopted.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT — It is with the deepest emotion that I take the chair to which you have been kind enough to elect me. I take it as an expression of your desire to honour the country which I represent, and am conscious that but for that desire on your part, I could not have aspired to this distinction. I thank you on behalf of India as well as on my own behalf for this mark of confidence. I am also thankful to the gentlemen who have proposed and supported my election in such generous terms. I am much beholden to the Chairman for his congratulations on my providential escape in the air crash which happened while I was returning from the last International Labour Conference, and for his good wishes. As you are perhaps aware, my infirmity still continues, and I crave your indulgence to address you without standing.

This is a great and historic occasion, the significance of which is greater than is apparent. Since the convening of this Conference was actively mooted, vast changes have taken place on the political scene of Asia. The great freedom movements launched in many of the Asian countries, chafing under the weight of foreign domination, have now reached varying stages of fruition. Although the birthpangs of freedom are not yet over in some countries, nevertheless we breathe free air. India and Pakistan have emerged as free countries. Burma and Ceylon are on the threshold of freedom, and so are the countries of Indo-China and Indonesia, with whom we are bound by so many common and intimate ties. Great China, which was the cradle of civilisation, has survived the ordeal of the last war, and though yet bleeding, has the promise of a great future. Thus

we meet more or less as a family of free peoples in this the first international conference to be held on Asian soil. I consider it a happy augury that this Conference should coincide with a radical phase of transformation in Asia, which is fast coming into its own.

This new era of freedom in Asia is a welcome development for the world ; for our freedom movements have been a series of crusades against inequity, exploitation and the domination of one country over another. We have seen enough of the tragedy of aggressive nationalism, which has caused so much suffering to so many peoples. The emancipation of the countries of Asia should not, therefore, be interpreted as isolated events, but as the emergence of a new and powerful factor in international relationship which will always throw its weight on the side of peace and justice. We do not claim that our ways of life or institutions are patterns of perfection. We believe, on the other hand, that we have as much to take as to give, and it is only through free intercourse between the nations of the world that progress and mutual understanding can be assured.

Speaking of my own country, we are irrevocably pledged to promote the cause of world peace and concord, and although dark clouds sometimes appear on the horizon and put our faith to a trying test, the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian nation, and of Pandit Nehru at the helm of our affairs constitutes an earnest of our intentions and an insurance against any conscious lapse on our part. Under their leadership, which Providence has so kindly vouchsafed to us, we shall not deflect or deviate from the path we have chosen for ourselves.

Our aim is the promotion of peace and goodwill among nations, so that we may build up an international brotherhood, in which there will be neither fear nor want and every nation will be able to develop its own way of life in harmony with others. This is the ideal which we shall strive for, howsoever arduous be the task and enormous the difficulties. Our voice will be raised on all occasions and at all places in defence of the exploited and the oppressed. It is, therefore, only natural that we should be drawn closer to the International Labour Organisation, which believes, as we do, in the right of all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, "to pursue both their material wellbeing and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity". The Philadelphia Charter, which defines the objectives of the International Labour Organisation, has a profound appeal to us in Asia. It is our earnest desire to do all we can to support this Organisation to enable it to pursue its noble ideals. I referred at the last Conference at Geneva, to the striking affinity between the ideals of the I.L.O. and those of our own, and I am glad to say that we are trying to enshrine many of these in our Constitution as directive principles of State policy. These principles include a solemn obligation to promote a social order in which national institutions shall be permeated with justice, social, economic and political. The declared policy of the State will be to secure protection against the employment of workers in occupations unsuited to their age or strength ; protection of children and young persons against exploitation, moral and material abandonment ; right to work, to education, and public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and other cases of undeserved want. The provision of a decent standard of living, just and humane conditions of work, full enjoyment of leisure and protection of the weaker sections of the community against injustice and exploitation are the accepted objectives. The State will also be required by the Constitution to regard the raising of the level of nutri-

tion and the standard of living of its people, and the improvement of public health among its primary duties. We fully realise that the aims and objectives of our Constitution will impose on the Government and the people a Herculean task. Our social and economic conditions are so interlaced and intertwined with one another that no people can afford to live in isolation. It is our firm belief that it is only by promoting international understanding and international collaboration that we can progress towards our ideals of peace and prosperity. It is in this spirit that we enter this Conference.

The countries of Asia represented at the Conference have been bound together for ages by ties, not so much economic or commercial, as by a common spiritual outlook and inheritance. When liberty was under an eclipse in many of our lands, we felt somewhat isolated from one another. With the resurgence of freedom, we have drawn together once again. It must now be our endeavour to strengthen our common spiritual inheritance by promoting a common social outlook and a common scale of values, on which alone, as the Director-General has very wisely and rightly pointed out in his admirable Report, a world community can be securely founded. In the great task of building up a new world order, based upon a common social outlook and set of social standards, conferences of this type have an important part to play. It is as fellow-workers in a noble and spiritual cause that we welcome the representatives of Asian countries to this Conference. We are also happy to welcome representatives of Great Britain and other European countries which have had a historic association with Asia, and representatives of the United States, Australia and New Zealand. These countries are pioneers in developing techniques of economic and social democracy. Their collaboration should prove of great value and we shall be grateful for their assistance. How intensely I wish that Indonesia could be represented here in the same way as Burma and Ceylon. I also miss the Asian countries of the Middle East, with whom we formed a strong bond of friendship during the last Asian Relations Conference. There is, however, shortly going to be another regional conference, in Istanbul, at which these countries will be represented. I am sure you will join me in wishing them every success. I would also like this Conference to send them our greetings and a message of good cheer.

The problems before the Conference have been admirably surveyed in four excellent reports, which the Office has submitted for your consideration. I must congratulate the Director-General on his foresight and vision in sending out a mission to Asian countries to study our problems on the spot. This, in the main, is responsible for the clarity with which the questions have been analysed and presented. It will be your task in the next few days to consider the reports in detail.

More than 75 per cent. of the population in Asian countries is working on the land. Most of these workers have full employment for not more than six months in the year. There are, in addition, large numbers dependent for their living on handicrafts and cottage industries. Workers in organised industrial establishments and transport services constitute only a very small minority. Here, then, is a main difference between Asian countries and those of Europe or North America. The approach hitherto followed, namely, evolving techniques for the improvement of workers in organised establishments and services, and then applying them to agricultural and other workers, will not prove suitable in the context of Asian conditions. The measures best calculated to bring about an improvement

in the conditions of our agricultural and cottage industry workers will demand our foremost consideration.

Underemployment, excessive pressure on land, low productivity and inadequate physical means for sustaining a decent existence are the dominant features of the economic landscape in most Asian countries. Although we in this Conference are primarily concerned with the provision of social services and the regulation of workers' conditions, we cannot forget that, without a very considerable increase in production and employment, all talk of social advancement will remain an empty dream. We should, therefore, concern ourselves with problems of increasing production, no less than with those of securing an equitable distribution. Unfortunately our industrial backwardness, accentuated by the existence in some industries of antiquated methods of production, has been a limiting factor. It should be the task of this Conference to consider how best we can help in furthering plans of economic development, to take stock periodically of the increase in the national wealth brought about by such development, and formulate schemes for distributing it on an equitable basis. This task can be accomplished only if we give to our problems detailed and systematic consideration. What we need is not a grandiose plan, but concrete steps to achieve our immediate social objectives. If I may use a simile, we are not now so much in need of an architect's blueprint for the erection of a grand palace, as of ways and means of getting bricks, cement and building tools for constructing the living tenements which we urgently need. This great endeavour will require the joint effort of us all. The delegates and advisers will contribute a knowledge of the needs and requirements and circumstances of their countries, and the Office, a knowledge of international practices. By combining the two, it may be possible for us to evolve concrete schemes, utilising the knowledge and experience of other countries, in so far as they are suited to the needs and conditions of our own countries.

If this task is to be successfully accomplished, there must be a proper institutional set-up. I am in entire agreement with the Director-General when he says that "the great milestones in the progress of mankind consist not of particular workers, remarkable as some of these have been, but of institutions established to achieve the desired results". Ideals have been fruitful only to the extent to which they have resulted in the setting up of suitable institutions for their implementation. It will be the task of this and subsequent conferences in this region to consider what institutions are required for the systematic and detailed consideration of our vast and complex problems, and to devise appropriate solutions for the various social problems which will inevitably arise with our expanding economic development.

I have no doubt that, in our discussions, the rural and agricultural background, which I have already referred to, will be prominently kept in mind. The problem is immense, but a start has to be made for improving the conditions of agricultural workers, who constitute the vast majority in all Asian countries. Problems relating to the cottage industry workers are in no less urgent need for study. If, as I am sure, you will agree that a beginning should be made to consider at least a minimum degree of protection for the agricultural and cottage industry workers, a point regarding the composition of these conferences will also require consideration. The main strength of this Organisation is in its representative character. It is necessary that in the selection of delegates and advisers from Asian countries, and more particularly in regard to this

Regional Conference, which is mainly of Asian countries, efforts should be made to secure representation of agriculturists, both employers and workers, and of handicraftsmen. In agriculture, there is the further question—and I am speaking primarily from an intimate knowledge of conditions in India—as to how representation should be given to the large body of peasants, who might be neither purely employers nor purely workers in the strict sense, but whom we cannot ignore if our discussions are to be realistic and purposeful. If representation is to be confined, as at present, to the most representative organisation of employers or workers as the case may be, there is little possibility, at least for some years to come, of the agricultural and cottage industry workers, who are not sufficiently organised, being able to secure representation at this Conference. This is an important matter and I am drawing your attention to it so that you may give it due consideration.

You will have an opportunity during the next few days, by your discussions, to carry out a vitally important task in laying the foundations of a better future for the common man in Asia. The vast masses of humanity hitherto neglected look upon this Conference with hope. I have every confidence that the results of your deliberations will add to their future happiness.

ADDRESS BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. KUMAR (*Representative of the United Nations*) — The decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation to convene a Preparatory Asian Regional Conference for promoting necessary contacts and suggesting guiding principles for the development of social policy, more particularly with respect to labour matters, in the countries of Asia was naturally one of great interest to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie. The International Labour Organisation has made a substantial contribution towards the improvement of labour standards in the countries of Asia for over a quarter of a century. It must be remembered, of course, that throughout this period the International Labour Organisation was exercising considerable influence throughout the world in respect of labour conditions and social standards.

In pursuance of the obligations laid on the United Nations by Chapter IX of the Charter "to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development", as soon as the bodies necessary for the proper functioning of the organisation were set up, the United Nations proceeded to give special attention to the countries of Asia and Latin America, where urgent problems beset the task of improving social conditions "with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and wellbeing which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations".

The Social Commission of the United Nations held its second session in New York at the end of last August. The Commission considered that it was its duty to recommend to the Economic and Social Council that it invite the Secretariat to undertake, in conjunction with the specialised agencies concerned, a series of studies on regions and territories that are economically underdeveloped and underprivileged, and to make appropriate recommendations to the competent bodies.

The creation of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East evidences a growing realisation of the importance of the economic develop-

ment of the countries of Asia, without which no social progress is feasible. The first meeting of the Commission was held in Shanghai from 16 to 25 June 1947. The second session of the Commission will open at Baguio, Philippines, on 24 November 1947.

This Conference of the International Labour Organisation will doubtless form a most valuable and fruitful contribution to the undertaking in which the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations is engaged. You will devote special attention to the problems of social security and the regulation of working conditions, which are on your agenda. The United Nations is above all conscious of the need for raising the standard of living in underdeveloped countries and regions. The adoption of social security measures and a general policy for the improvement of working conditions are factors which will contribute in a large measure to raising the standard of living for a considerable part of the population of these countries. Here again the United Nations follows with sympathy and interest the efforts of the International Labour Organisation in convening the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations has instructed me to express his most cordial wishes for its success.

I also bring you greetings from the Departments of Social Affairs, Trusteeship and Economic Affairs.

ADDRESS BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERIM COMMISSION OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION

Lieut.-Col. MANI (*Representative of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organisation*) — It gives me great pleasure to be present here today as a representative of the World Health Organisation, Interim Commission. As some of you may be aware, the constitution of the World Health Organisation was signed by 61 countries at the International Health Conference held in New York during July last year. This constitution comes into force as soon as 26 Members of the United Nations have ratified their signatures. We hope that the required number of ratifications will be completed shortly and that the first World Health Assembly will meet in the Americas some time in the spring of next year. The World Health Organisation will then become a specialised agency of the United Nations in the field of health, on the same lines as you have the International Labour Organisation in the field of labour.

The object of the World Health Organisation is to meet the demand of all peoples of the world for the highest possible standard of health, irrespective of race, religion or creed. Therefore our Organisation, as you will understand, is closely associated with the work of all specialised agencies which have to deal with health problems as part of their international activities. A good deal of the work of the International Labour Office relates to the health of the workers, the improvement and protection thereof, and the ensuring to them of adequate housing and environmental conditions. In all this my Organisation is very greatly interested.

The Interim Commission of our Organisation—set up at our present stage of development—has made certain arrangements with the International Labour Office to give the fullest co-operation, and I understand a draft agreement is already in the making. As regards this Conference of the Asian world, it may interest you to know that the Charter of the World Health Organisation provides for the establishment of what is called a

regional office. There are to be numerous regional offices in different geographical areas to serve the regional needs of those particular areas, and I am certain that there will be at least one such office of the World Health Organisation established in the areas serving the countries represented here today. In the meantime, I can assure you of the fullest co-operation in your deliberations by the Interim Commission of the World Health Organisation, whose Executive Secretary has requested me to tell you that the Commission will be very glad to help you in any aspect of health problems which your deliberations may lead you to tackle. I shall be happy to answer any queries regarding the World Health Organisation and its Interim Commission and to make a note of any request for assistance in any way that my Organisation can help you to achieve the desired result.

COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

The PRESIDENT — I am glad to inform the Conference that the three groups have now submitted their nominations for the three Committees. The Clerk of the Conference will now read the list of these nominations.¹

(The list of nominations is read and approved.)

(The Conference adjourned at 12 noon.)

¹ For the composition of the Committees, see *First Part*, pp. xxv-xxviii.

FOURTH SITTING

Wednesday, 29 October 1947, 10.45 a.m.

Presidents: Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Cresson

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL; AND ITEM IV ON THE AGENDA:
ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL POLICY
INCLUDING PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIALISATION: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will now proceed to the general discussion of the Director-General's Report and Report IV on "The Economic Background of Social Policy".

I am glad to welcome the Honourable Mahn Wim Maung, Minister for Industry and Labour in the Burma Government, who will make a few observations on the Director-General's Report and on the general background.

Mr. MAUN (Government delegate, Burma) — It gives me great pleasure as Minister of Industry and Labour in the Government of Burma to have this opportunity of addressing the Conference. In the first place, I wish to offer the thanks of the Government of Burma to the International Labour Organisation for the kind invitation which has been extended to Burma to send a full delegation to this Conference although Burma is not yet a Member of the International Labour Organisation. As you are no doubt aware, Burma will shortly be in a position to become a Member of the Organisation in her own right, and as soon as this is possible it is the intention of the Government of Burma to apply for membership of the Organisation, with whose aims and objects the Government of Burma is in the fullest sympathy.

Burma has already ratified 14 Conventions of the International Labour Organisation and is doing her best to carry them into effect. The country has, however, twice been ravaged by war and her economy has been sadly disrupted. The rehabilitation of our industries, including of course our agriculture, is proceeding as rapidly as possible, but in the meantime the full implementation of the Conventions is a matter of considerable difficulty.

The present Government of Burma is a Government of the people and naturally has the deepest sympathy with the aspirations of the working classes, who form the major part of the population. Burma's economy is built upon the foundation of her primary products, *viz.*, rice, timber, oil and minerals, and it will be the concern of the Government to secure for the workers, especially in those primary industries, the best standards of living and conditions of life and work which can be obtained for them.

The Government has already taken a number of steps in this direction. A Labour Department has been set up, and a close examination of the labour legislation of Burma is in progress at the present moment. All the Acts which concern the labouring classes are being closely examined and brought up to date in the light of the Recommendations and Conventions of the International Labour Organisation and of modern developments in this field in other countries.

It is a matter of regret to me that owing to my absence in the United Kingdom and the consequent pressure of business which awaits me in Rangoon, I am unable to remain to take part in the final deliberations of this Conference. I wish however to assure the Conference that the Government of Burma is in the fullest sympathy with the aims and objects which the Conference has in mind and will do its best to carry into effect in Burma any Recommendations or Conventions which may eventually come into being and which would affect the working people of Burma. By the time the next regional conference of the East is held, I have every hope that Burma will be a Member of the Organisation in her own right. I wish this Conference every success and I shall follow its deliberations with the deepest interest.

The PRESIDENT — I take this opportunity to thank the Honourable Minister for Industries and Labour from Burma for the trouble that he has taken in attending this Conference in spite of the preoccupations that he had in Burma, more so when history is being made in Burma at the present time. It is heartening to hear him say that Burma will become a Member of the International Labour Organisation as soon as she is free. Burma is today standing on the threshold of freedom, and it is only a question of days ; after only 75 days Burma will be free. And in a country which stands on the threshold of freedom, people like the Honourable Minister have many important duties to perform. He has evinced his interest in the work of this Conference by his presence here, and I am sure the Conference will associate itself with me in thanking him once again for the trouble he has taken.

Mr. PAO (*Government delegate, China*) — As you may know, I made repeated requests to the International Labour Organisation with my Indian colleagues in the past decade for the holding of an Asian regional conference. You can imagine, therefore, how glad I am and how warm and mellow are the cockles of my heart to see my dream come true here today. The dawn is breaking on the social and economic horizon in the East, and we have arisen betimes in a joyful mood to plant the seeds of progress so that we may reap the benefit in the near future. It is fitting that the solemn inauguration should take place in the beautiful capital of India, whose people are famous for their hospitality, diligence and perseverance. And diligence and perseverance, indeed, we need in great measure in the profound deliberations of the Conference and in the attainment of our goal.

Over two years after the termination of the war we find the whole world in the grips of tremendous hardship and difficulties. In Asia, owing to its backwardness and the destructions of war, the present situation is even worse than that of Europe. The absence of peace or security is conspicuous in several districts of our region. A great many of the Asian peoples are suffering in misery. This is indeed a great problem of mankind. For "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere".

The history of mankind affords sufficient evidence that peace and prosperity are absolutely indivisible.

In order to have a clear understanding of the nature of Asian problems, it may be essential for us here to make a brief historical review. Asia is one of the birthplaces of world civilisation. No one can deny the fact that we have a cultural heritage that dates back thousands of years. For the past few centuries, however, owing to the rapid political and economic development and expansion of the Western Powers, Asia has become a so-called backward region. Consequent upon such expansion, we in Asia have become weak, poor and chaotic. As it is human nature to struggle for existence, there can be no exemption for us from undergoing this process. Thus, we find the modernisation of Japan, the revolution of China, the self-government of India and Pakistan and the heroic struggle for independence in the non-metropolitan areas in Asia. We have been set on the road to reconstruction. Unfortunately, after her own emancipation, Japan followed in the footsteps of imperialism and started wars of aggression against Korea, China and other Asian countries, which led mankind to unsurpassed tragedy and catastrophe. The root of all trouble may be traced back to the political, economic and social disequilibrium between the Asian countries and the Western Powers, which rendered the former a particularly weak and vulnerable victim.

After the end of the war, justice has again been upheld by the people. The weak countries in Asia have either obtained independence, or are fighting for it. We have now a rational approach to our political problems. Industrially, we are still undeveloped. The standard of living in Asia is pitifully low. The economic development, the amelioration of people's livelihood, the creation of social order out of chaos on the continent of Asia as a prelude to world peace—all these await careful searching of hearts, firm resolution, untiring diligence and application.

The characteristic features of the social economy, labour policy and problems of industrialisation in Asian countries have been listed on the agenda of the present Conference, and the I.L.O. has been good enough to gather quite a number of relevant materials, which have been published in its valuable reports. I am sure they will receive due consideration, as a result of which a rational solution of the Asian social and economic problems may be envisaged. For it is impossible to have world peace when the continent of Asia is allowed to sink into the depths of economic depression and social disorder. This is the primary consideration that we have to bear in mind.

Whilst seriously tackling the social and economic problems of Asia, many of the delegates are conversant with Chinese ideals and measures for their solution. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to point out that China is one of the oldest and most peaceloving countries in the world. Our ancient sages and the founder of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, all firmly believed in the serene ideals of "universal justice and the Grand Union". Over two thousand years ago, Confucius, in his Book of Rites, instructed us that—

"When the Great Philosophy was implemented, universal justice prevailed. They chose men of virtue and competence. Their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus, men were not partial to their parents or sons. The aged were happy unto their death; the able-bodied found useful employment; the young grew

and developed; widows, orphans, the forlorn, the disabled and the sick were cared for. Men fulfilled their duties; women enjoyed marital bliss. They accumulated articles not for the purpose of keeping them, but because they did not like seeing them laid waste upon the ground. They laboured with their strength, not for the purpose of enriching themselves, but because they disliked that it should not be exerted. In this way, selfish schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open and were not shut. This was the period of what we call the Grand Union."

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic and a fervent observer of this Great Philosophy, advocated the "Three People's Principles", which were based on the ideals of justice and the philosophy of the people's livelihood. The ultimate end in view is the "Millennium of the Grand Union", in which there shall be no discrimination of class, sex, occupation, religion or race, but there shall be political equality and economic prosperity. You will find that this spirit is in harmony with that proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter, the Philadelphia Declaration, the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and the Charter of the United Nations, all of which are milestones on the road that will lead to the peace and happiness of mankind. For the past twenty or more years President Chiang Kai-Shek, having faithfully observed the serene ideals of the Grand Union and the Three People's Principles, has led the Chinese people to strive for this ideal with an indomitable spirit, and has intimately co-operated with peaceloving countries in the cause of world peace and reconstruction.

Much to our regret, misfortunes have befallen us since the inauguration of the Chinese Republic, so much so that it has been extremely difficult for us to fulfil the letter or spirit of the Three People's Principles. The great task of reconstruction has not been favourably pursued, and, consequently, there is still a great distance to go before reaching economic prosperity. A good deal of work has been attempted and accomplished, however, in the field of social legislation and administration. Early in 1924, the First National Convention of the Kuomintang Party adopted resolutions on the protection of the workers' livelihood and the labour movement. The Second National Convention of the Party was more specific in laying down regulations on hours of work, wage payment, the protection of women and children, safety in factories, social insurance, workers' education, their rights and political status. A comprehensive Labour Code has been systematically drafted and promulgated by the National Government since its establishment in 1927, based on the principles laid down in the Party Conventions and the international labour Conventions and Recommendations. Thus we have the Trade Unions Act, the Factories Act, the Collective Agreements Act, the Settlement of Labour Disputes Act, the Factory Inspection Act.

In 1940, the Ministry of Social Affairs was established. Since then, the national framework of social administration has been gradually set up in the provinces, municipalities and *hsiens*. Towards the end of the second World War, the Sixth National Convention of Kuomintang was held in Chungking, which adopted, in anticipation of rehabilitation and reconstruction after victory, the four main principles of social policy—population policy, labour policy, agrarian policy, and social security policy. These are the guiding signposts along the path of Chinese social

progress. The English version of these policies of China has been distributed to you for comment or criticism.

It may be reiterated that the Three People's Principles are the ideals on which the social policies of China are based ; and that Dr. Sun's philosophy centred on the amelioration of the people's livelihood. The history of mankind is, in short, a history of the struggle for a decent standard of living for the common man. Plans of industrialisation will be enforced in my country with a view to increasing the production of such daily necessities as food, clothing and housing. The guiding principles on which China's plan of industrialisation is built are to be found in Dr. Sun's books. In regard to the distribution of wealth, Dr. Sun instructed us in his Principle of People's Livelihood that the State should undertake to develop certain heavy industries, that private capital should be regulated and that there should be equalisation of land tenure so that every tiller would own the land he tills. By the readjustment of capital and the redistribution of land we shall be able to socialise the national economy, reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, avoid class conflict, harmonise divergent interests of the people and thus pave the way to social progress. This, in fact, is the spirit of Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles and of the Chinese social policy, which has been accepted by the National Government and incorporated in the new Constitution drawn up by the People's Assembly in December last year. The Ministry of Social Affairs has been drafting laws, regulations and measures for the eventual implementation of these policies.

Let me now point out to you some of the salient features of the Chinese labour movement. It may be truly observed that there are some underlying differences between Chinese labour problems and those of Europe and America. For, whereas in China the problems are political as well as economic, in Europe and America they are purely economic in that they arise mostly out of labour-management conflicts of interests. In China, as a result of foreign political and economic aggression during the past century, workers are aware of the fact that it would be absolutely preposterous if they dedicated themselves solely to the task of seeking economic gain for themselves without primarily striving for political freedom and the independence of the country. Chinese workers have a keen political as well as economic consciousness. Under the protection and guidance of the revolutionary party of China, the Kuomintang, they and other revolutionary elements were successful in overthrowing the imperial monarchy, in establishing the Chinese Republic, in conquering the war lords, in unifying the country and in resisting Japanese aggression by bringing the war to a victorious conclusion. At the present moment, when the Government is exterminating political bandits as well as implementing plans of national reconstruction, workers are doing their share wholeheartedly. After Japan surrendered, the Government decided to make an end to the period of political tutelage, and to usher in the period of constitutional government. The National Government has therefore revised Chinese labour laws in order to conform with the democratic spirit embodied in the new Constitution. The regulations and measures which restricted the labour movement in wartime or in the period of political tutelage have been duly repealed. At the same time, the Government is fostering the workers' political rights and giving them every opportunity to exercise the same. Their standard of living, though not up to a satisfactory level, is nevertheless higher than that of the pre-war period.

It is accurate to state that the Chinese labour movement has been closely aligned with that of national and democratic revolution in China. Had it not been for the leadership and persistent support of the revolutionary party, that movement would not have such a rapid development today. Labour movements in other Asian countries may be facing similar situations. We in China would like to study with our fellow Asians such baffling problems as confront us, in order to evolve proper measures through which the labour movement, besides fulfilling its proper functions, could serve to promote economic prosperity, social security and political democracy. I have just mentioned that the ideals of the International Labour Organisation and those of the Chinese Republic are practically identical with one another, inasmuch as they have the same object in view — the object of promoting social justice and world peace. China is an original Member State of the International Labour Organisation and has been a staunch supporter of the Organisation for the past twenty-seven years. The relationship between the I.L.O. and my country has been most intimate, and it will continue to be so. The Organisation has made great efforts towards ameliorating the livelihood of workers of different countries, promoting the welfare of mankind and establishing a new world order. It has now focused its attention on the special problems common to the Asian region. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to throw some light on these problems. The territorial compass of the continent of Asia totals over 9 million square miles, which is about one third of the territory of the world. The population of Asia is approximately 1,090 million—over one half of the total population of the world. Despite such huge territorial and manpower resources, Asians are suffering from the scourge of illiteracy, poverty, undeveloped economy and low standard of living in comparison with that of Western industrialised countries. According to the report on "The Economic Background of Social Policy" prepared by the Office, the pre-war average annual income of the Asians was below 200 international units, whereas in Europe and America, the counterpart ranged between 600 and 1,000 units. The wide gap shown by these figures is at once revealing and astounding. No wonder most of the people in this region are struggling on the verge of starvation. Would it be at all possible to attain world peace and prosperity when one half of the total population on this earth is suffering from cold, hunger, poverty and frustration? We all know that one of the main functions of the International Labour Conference is to set up common standards for the protection of world labour through the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations. As the situation in our region is yet unfavourable, it would be highly preposterous if the Asian countries ratified or adopted all the Conventions and Recommendations. This must not be taken as a pretext for the non-implementation of protective international labour standards in Asia. The difficulties that we encounter now need no reiteration. In my opinion, resolutions should be made and measures devised, at least for the transitional period, for the gradual elevation of labour standards in the region, despite the fact that we are not in a position now to ratify or adopt many of the international labour Conventions and Recommendations. In this way, we hope in the near future to fall into line with the standards set up in these Conventions, or even to raise them to new heights.

I am sure all of us here are very much concerned with the ways and means of shortening the period of transition. I think that if we in Asia could devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the supreme task of industrialisation,

thus securing full employment and raising the general standard of living, the period of transition could not but be shortened. However, we should, no doubt, encounter overwhelming difficulties in the course of industrialisation if the industrially advanced countries in America and Europe withheld from us their helping hand in regard to technical or financial assistance. I wish to plead with the industrial Powers to note that such assistance, if rendered, would not be beneficial to the recipient countries alone, but also to themselves and to the world in common. On this point, I quite agree with the Director-General when he points out in his Report that "it is only to the extent to which these countries, wherein the larger part of the world's population is concentrated, are able to increase their purchasing power that they can provide outlets for the export of products of the industrially advanced countries". It cannot be over-emphasised that the Western industrial Powers have now reached the stage of superabundant production when they have to rely mainly on exports to maintain economic prosperity and a high standard of living. It is no exaggeration to say that at the present moment, when the whole of Asia is more or less suffering from economic depression, one third of the foreign market is closed, as it were, to the Western Powers. This would, of course, be detrimental, if not disastrous, to the prosperity of the West. The only way out of this dilemma seems to lie in economic co-operation and mutual assistance between the East and the West, by using surplus technical personnel and capital of the latter to quicken the tempo of industrialisation in this region, so that the standard of living in Asia may be raised and surplus production of the Western countries absorbed. On the basis of mutual assistance and division of labour, the millennium of economic prosperity, social security and eternal peace could be realised in the near future.

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference which is now being held starts the ball rolling. By indefatigable hard work and application, we shall arrive at our goal. Let me now wish this Conference great success. Last, but not least, I beg to extend to you, on behalf of my Government and my people, an invitation to my country for the holding of the first session of the Asian Regional Conference.

(Mr. Cresson takes the Chair.)

Dr. C. J. C. DE SILVA (*Workers' Delegate, Ceylon*) — My first and obvious duty is to thank the I.L.O. for arranging this Conference today in India, a Conference which has brought together the Employers' delegates, the Workers' delegates and the representatives of the different States. It is necessary for us to consider the importance of this association of employers, workers and States because, as has been pointed out, there is tremendous strife, misery and chaos in this world of ours today.

Two great wars were fought for democracy, and if at the end of this last great war democracy does not prevail and the rights of man are not established, I fear the next war will be the end of the world. For this reason I think we must all be deeply indebted to the I.L.O. for bringing this Conference about. I hope that it will be blessed in its endeavours, and that we may soon see the rights of man established.

The one thing I should like to point out is that this common association between the three groups will be of no avail, will not bring results, unless the States, the employers and the workers realise their duty to one another. The one fundamental point that I have in mind is that

unless we can act on the fundamental principle that men cannot claim their rights and privileges before they have done their duty, I am sure this common understanding by all humanity will not be achieved.

I should like to mention that in Ceylon we have already implemented some of the Conventions which have been ratified by the United Kingdom, *e.g.*, those concerning the employment service, the employment of women and children, workmen's compensation, minimum wage, hours of work and weekly rest, recruitment, forced labour, minimum age of admission to employment in agricultural and industrial occupations and at sea, and other maritime Conventions.

Another point on which I should like to speak is social security. The Workmen's Compensation Act and maternity benefit legislation are in the Statute Book of the Island of Ceylon, and very recently free education has been given to the people of the Island. Being a doctor myself, I should say that in one important respect the Island of Ceylon has been superior to most other countries in that it has a visiting free medical service in almost all the towns of the Island. We have also the report of our Social Service Committee and the recommendations in that report will be implemented very soon. That, I am sure, will be the first task of the new Minister of Labour and Social Service. At present it is only a programme, but it will be the task of the new Minister. Once we get our independence, we shall strive to keep on the same lines as other civilised countries for the amelioration of the distress caused to the working classes.

There is one point more that I should like to place before you, and that is that I should like to give you a definition of labour. To me labour is the honest exertion of the mind and body of every individual for his own good, for the good of his neighbour and for the good of the community and the State in which he lives. And if everyone of us looked on labour from that point of view, I am sure we would realise our duty to one another. I sincerely trust and hope that this discussion that has been begun today will be very fruitful, and that poverty, misery and antagonisms will before long be cleared away from this world of ours.

Sir SHRI RAM (*Employers' delegate, India*) — May I, first of all, offer my congratulations, in which I am sure all of you will join, to the Director-General on the excellent Report that he has placed before us; and also my warmest thanks, in which too I am sure you will all join, for the very substantial, well-documented and illuminating monographs which he has circulated in connection with the several items on the agenda. They all make excellent volumes for reference. The Report covers so much ground that one could go on speaking for hours on the various subjects that it traverses and the various considerations to which it has referred, but I will resist the temptation and be brief.

As the Report itself makes clear, there can be little social progress in the absence of economic development, and what the Asian countries stand most in need of is rapid, many-sided and well-balanced economic development. In the last century or so there has been so much progress elsewhere in the world, but not in Asia and for reasons into which I need not go, though I hope that those reasons have ceased to exist. Anyway, we in Asia intend to devote ourselves to our economic development and desire to utilise the International Labour Organisation, among other things, for this purpose.

Our need for development does not, however, mean that social progress should stand still in these Asian countries. It only means that we

have to go slow. Most of our existing labour laws and regulations are but improvised and not deeply thought out, adaptations from similar codes in highly industrialised Western countries in which the factory working population is a substantial fraction of the whole of the country's population. On the other hand, our factory population is a very small fraction of our total population, and it is a moot question whether the premature adoption in our countries of Western standards in the case of industrial workers has not widened the gulf between the condition of these workers and that of the other—and much larger—working population in agriculture and in small-scale industries, and thus made the problem of amelioration of those other workers even more difficult than it was.

After all, we can only distribute what we produce, and any scheme of social welfare which seeks to guarantee to important groups in the population an income in excess of the average *per capita* production can only result in the creation of new privileged groups among the less prosperous classes, merely because such groups are well organised and vocal. On the other hand, no real economic development is possible except with the willing and intelligent co-operation of all sections of the body politic, including of course the workers; and it is in this connection that I think the I.L.O. with its expert organisation can play a useful part. It can and ought to collect, compile and publish promptly and regularly information, essentially statistical, which will enable everyone interested in labour welfare, and in particular the workers themselves and their leaders, to appreciate the significance and consequences of various schemes of social welfare. I will refer to this idea in more detail later.

There is one sentence in particular in the Director-General's Report which impressed me. It is on page 32 of his Report, where he says that activity in connection with social welfare should be undertaken in response to real needs and that it should be informed by no exclusive or parochial spirit. I agree entirely as regards the first part of the sentence. Unless there are real needs to be met, our discussions might become academic and doctrinaire, and might even give rise to avoidable discontent. We are all passing through difficult times. Very few countries have recovered from the effects of the war; and political upheavals have made the recovery difficult. Most Asian countries are suffering from various degrees of inflation, administrative inefficiency (and, it is often alleged, even corruption on a large scale), the usual black markets and tax evasion. Almost every Asian country is in a state of economic crisis. Our most urgent need today is for more production all round, the fullest development of our productive capacity and the fullest exploitation of our existing capacity, and to the extent that any immediate scheme of labour welfare would help this end, such a scheme is also urgent. Schemes of bonuses and profit-sharing so designed as to link them with increased production naturally come to one's mind, but this Conference may suggest new and more effective ideas.

Moreover, if our immediate need is for increased production, our need at a later stage will, without doubt, be for still more production; for, as the excellent memorandum on item IV so clearly brings out, we in Asia have to produce more, not only to improve our standards of living but to offset the steady increase of population which is bound to continue for a long time. Ours, therefore, is a more difficult problem than what the West has had to face so far; and we need all the help and goodwill of the West in solving this problem.

As our production increases, it will be our first duty to see that labour

benefits by the increased production to a greater extent than more prosperous classes do. That is the least we should do for them. And I am sure that no Government will be worth its place if it does not discharge this duty.

In this country, where the industrial population is but a small fraction of the whole, it is obvious that the responsibility for the bulk of the schemes of social progress must fall on the State, and such schemes would perhaps be best carried out, except in special cases, by the State. Otherwise, the gulf between the conditions of industrial workers and that of others would grow even wider than at present. The problem of justice as between different groups of workers *inter se* is far more important today in Asian countries than the problem of justice between rich and poor, or employer and employed, though the latter also needs attention, and I do not for a moment wish to ignore all these inequalities of rich and poor. This other question of justice between workers of different kinds naturally means that the State will have to use the mechanism of taxation on a larger scale than at present as a means of redistribution of welfare; and that is perhaps as it should be, so long as the Government does not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs by overtaxing the more profitable sources of national production. For after all, what we have to secure is the maximum welfare of the people of the country as a whole; and there is nothing sacrosanct in particular schemes of distribution or taxation which have been evolved by particular countries to solve their changing political and social problems from time to time. The test always must be whether the country as a whole secures maximum benefit.

I am not sure that I quite understand the reference in the Director-General's Report to the avoidance of an exclusive or parochial spirit. Obviously, it cannot be exclusive or parochial for a region or a country to concentrate on its peculiar problems or to diverge from lines of policy found suitable for different conditions elsewhere. For example, I may refer to a comparatively small matter: the provision of financial help to workers to enable them to marry off their daughters. This is a matter of importance in India, though it may seem odd to Westerners that I should refer to it at all. Even in those cases in which such divergence might cause some conflict with the interests of other countries, it is not clear why the region or country which so diverges should be considered to have done anything wrong, so long as its policy is governed, not by a narrow sectarian or tendentious outlook, but by a desire to secure the maximum welfare for that country or region as a whole based on equitable standards of social justice. Even from our selfish point of view, it would be unwise for us in Asia to consider our problems in isolation from those of the rest of the world, however peculiar our problems might be; for, unless we understand our problems in all their bearings, including of course their relation to other countries, we may lose our sense of judgment and perspective and arrive at wrong or short-sighted solutions, which ultimately would be detrimental to our interests.

I should have been more happy if this Conference had contained representatives of agriculture—both of employers and employed. The absence of such representatives in similar conferences in the past held in the West did not matter, for the discussions related primarily to industries and industrial workers; but in the background of Asia, the respective importance of agriculture and industry is so entirely different, and it would have lightened our responsibility and also perhaps added to the weight of our conclusions if agriculture had been represented here.

I will now refer to a few concrete points.

The first point I wish to make is that the I.L.O. should collect, compile, and publish regularly statistics in much greater detail than at present. We want statistics not only of population, occupations, earnings, illness and so forth, but statistics about the productivity of labour in different countries; for example, it should be possible to ascertain units of production per man-hour in each country in respect of certain comparable or standardisable commodities, or alternatively, the cost of wages per unit of such commodities. I am aware that it is difficult to collect and compile such statistics, but attempts have been made with success from time to time by other agencies, for example, the Indian Tariff Board of 1932, which examined the cotton textile industry in India. In fact, the figures collected by that Board are referred to on page 17 of Report IV. It seems to me that the I.L.O. is the agency best fitted for this purpose; and I have no doubt that, if it would apply itself to the task, it would be bound to succeed.

The most effective way in which labour in any country can improve its welfare in the long run is by enabling industry in that country to compete more successfully with those in other countries, *i.e.*, by bringing down the cost of production. In this country, from one cause or another, despite the intelligence and dexterity of the worker and despite the similarity of the mechanical equipment provided, the output per man-hour has been perceptibly smaller than in Western countries. As a result, in spite of the lower wages paid here, the cost of labour per unit of production has often been higher. This disparity has become worse now; for, while wages today, for example in the textile industry, are about three to four times pre-war, wages in the West, *e.g.*, in Great Britain or America, are not even twice pre-war. Obviously then, India's ability to compete with Western countries is now even less than it was before the war, though this handicap is temporarily obscured by the closed Indian market, where the demand is out of all relation to the supply.

Unless we have up-to-date and dependable statistics for different staple industries, showing the productivity of labour in the different countries, it would be difficult to deal with claims for increased wages, and discussions would become hazy and emotional. It would be easily possible for workers in remunerative industries to put forward demands out of all proportion to wages in less profitable industries and without any regard to their own productivity. If such unreasonable demands are conceded, it would not be the employer that suffered, but the Exchequer, and through it, the wider body of beneficiaries of the social services rendered by Government, *e.g.*, medical relief, education, etc. I am stressing this aspect of the matter, because, so far as I can see, the needs of Governments in future will be such that they will find it necessary to take over the bulk of the profits of industry in the shape of taxation, and the utmost that might be left over for industry is a little for development. The conflict, as I have already stated, is by no means between employer and employed in industry, but between workers in profitable industries and those in others.

I will take another concrete point, namely, about agricultural labour. In the two biggest Asian countries, the population is well in excess of the available local food supplies; and radical changes in methods of agriculture may be necessary. But before any change can be considered, one naturally likes to have sufficient information about the present position. Unfortunately, in respect of such an important matter, the available statistics are meagre, while the information required is complex. There are

so many types of tenure and so many persons concerned, both with the production and its disposal. Wages are often paid in kind and the income of cultivating tenants is affected by rents. The truth is that in many parts, of this country at any rate, agriculture is more a mode of living than a business, and except during abnormal times of scarcity like the last few years, no one connected with agriculture is really well off. In fact, there is a great deal to be done in this country in order to improve the lot of agricultural labour, including in that expression the small cultivating owners and tenants. On the other hand, any attempt without proper information to lay down or give effect to minimum standards of wages for agricultural labour would only throw a lot of land out of cultivation and aggravate the shortage of food.

In my view, the I.L.O. should collect, compile and publish as soon as possible comparable figures for different countries in respect of the acreage under cultivation, yield and value of different crops, the number directly depending on agriculture and so forth. I find that the very excellent Report IV, to which I have already made a reference, contains some of this information ; and I believe that as a result of the recently improved statistical techniques of sampling, the Governments of most countries are nowadays in possession of more information than before.

Similarly, we also require considerable statistical information about cottage industries, referred to in the Director-General's Report as traditional industries. That the population, particularly in India, depending on agriculture is far in excess of what it ought to be will not be disputed ; and it is equally beyond dispute that only a small fraction of this surplus population can be absorbed in large-scale industries. An appreciable fraction can no doubt find employment in what are usually known as tertiary industries, namely commerce, transport, distribution, etc. ; but, at any rate, in India, quite a large number will have to be absorbed in domestic and small-scale industries, the conditions in which must be made worthwhile for the worker. Since such industries will play a very important part in the economy of India, we need all the information available in respect of such industries in all countries and the measures that have been adopted in order to make these industries successful.

We in this country naturally wish to avoid the mistakes made in the course of industrialisation in the West—mistakes which arose from the haphazard growth of industry against the background of the political philosophy of *laissez faire*. We sincerely hope that those who are responsible in Asian countries for the planning of industries in the near future will see to it that we do not have to go through the miseries of overcrowding and squalor that have often accompanied industrialisation in the West.

Trade unionism is still more or less in its infancy in Asian countries, and a very heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the leaders of these unions, especially in the impending development of industry in this region. As I have already said, the most urgent need of Asia is increased production, and it is not possible to secure this increased production except with the willing and intelligent co-operation of the workers. In these unsettled and rapidly changing times, it would be quite easy for leaders of labour in prosperous industries to egg on their followers to press for unreasonable demands and thus throw production out of gear. As I have already pointed out, such demands injure not the employer but the country as a whole, including of course the workers in less prosperous industries, for whom the State is prevented from doing as much as it otherwise might.

I hope, therefore, that the leaders of labour will rise to the responsibility and see that by their efforts labour as a whole benefits, and not merely the particular industries represented by these leaders. Labour in most Asian countries is very intelligent and possessed of high skill; and with proper leadership and a desire on their part to do their best, there is no reason why Asian countries should not before long develop their industries to the utmost—having regard of course to the available raw materials, power, etc.—with advantage to themselves and to the rest of the world.

Let there be no mistake about it. The organisation which I represent is, from no conceivable point of view, against the interests of the worker. On the contrary, it is entirely in agreement with the view that it is the duty of every civilised Government to see that the underdog gets a square deal at all times and under all conditions. We have no mental reservations about this. All that my organisation wishes to lay emphasis on is that problems of distributive justice should not be solved by mere sentiment or by abstract reasoning, but with a proper appreciation of the consequences of each measure for the welfare of the country as a whole.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)

FIFTH SITTING

Thursday, 30 October 1947, 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Pao

SECOND REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — We shall now consider the second report of the Selection Committee, which will be presented orally.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — I have the honour to submit the second report of the Selection Committee.

The Selection Committee held two sittings, one on Tuesday, 28 October, and the other on Wednesday, 29 October 1947.

Election of Vice-Chairmen.

The Committee unanimously elected Mr. Khan, Pakistan Employers' member, and Dr. De Silva, Ceylon Workers' member, as Vice-Chairmen.

Assignment of proposed resolutions to committees of the Conference.

The Committee examined the list of proposed resolutions circulated to the Conference, with a view to assigning them to the committees of the Conference for consideration.

Proposed resolution assigned to the Committee on item I on the agenda. The Committee decided that the proposed resolution (No. 1) on social security submitted by the Indian Government delegates¹ should be assigned to the Committee on item I on the agenda.

Proposed resolution assigned to the Committee on item II on the agenda. After an exchange of views, in the course of which the competence of the Organisation to deal with questions raised in the proposed resolution (No. 44) concerning land tenure submitted by the Indian Government delegates² was considered, it was decided that this proposed resolution should be examined, in the first instance by the Selection Committee, with due regard, on the one hand, to the recognised competence of the Organisation to examine questions relating to the conditions of life and work of agricultural workers, including self-employed workers, and, on the other hand, to the scope of the activities of the Food and Agriculture Organisation as well as other international organisations.

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix III*, p. 207.

² See *Third Part: Appendix IV*, p. 242.

Other proposed resolutions. A certain number of the remaining proposed resolutions have been assigned to the Committee on item II on the agenda and others to the Committee on item III on the agenda. The rest have been assigned to the Selection Committee. All the resolutions so assigned are listed in the schedule to this report.¹

Appointment of subcommittees in the Committees on items II and III on the agenda and in the Selection Committee, to consider proposed resolutions.

The Committee decided to appoint a subcommittee to make recommendations for the examination of the proposals contained in the proposed resolutions assigned to it, with a view to co-ordinating these proposals and establishing an order of priorities designed to facilitate action in respect of these proposals. It further decided to recommend to the Committees on items II and III on the agenda the appointment of similar subcommittees in order to facilitate the rapid transaction of business.

The Committee also decided to recommend to the Committees on items I, II and III on the agenda that the officers of these Committees should, whenever necessary, arrange to consult with each other and with officers of the Selection Committee in order to avoid any unnecessary overlapping in the scope of their activities.

Determination of a time-limit for the submission of proposed resolutions.

The Committee decided that any new proposed resolutions submitted after 12 noon on Friday, 31 October 1947, should not be taken up for consideration.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — If there are no objections I shall consider the second report of the Selection Committee as adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND ITEM IV : DISCUSSION (*contd.*)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — The next item on the agenda this morning is the continuation of the general discussion of the Report of the Director-General and of Report IV.

Before I call upon the speakers, I want to draw their attention to Article 9, paragraph 5, of our Standing Orders, which says :

“Except with the consent of the Conference, no speaker shall exceed 15 minutes exclusive of the time for translation.”

Mr. HUSAIN (*Government delegate, Pakistan*) — On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan I take this first opportunity to say how deeply we appreciate the decision of the International Labour Organisation to hold this Conference in this part of the world. This is an epoch-making event in the history of the Organisation, the beneficial consequences of which will be realised and appreciated with the passage of time and the growing influence of the I.L.O. The holding of this regional conference is a recognition of the fundamental unity of mankind, and, with it, of the urgent necessity of dealing with the problems of Asian countries more adequately and with more intimate knowledge. This is necessary not only

¹ See *Third Part : Appendix II*, p. 195.

in the interests of those countries but also of the more advanced countries of the West. This Conference is being held at a most eventful time, when India and Pakistan have regained their independence and Burma is standing on the threshold of freedom. The tide of freedom and democracy is advancing and many countries suffering hitherto from the vicious grip of colonial economy are pulsating with new life, glowing with new ideas and fresh hopes for the future. This is a most opportune time for the holding of this Conference. Its deliberations will tend to give concrete shape to the ideals of economic freedom and will help in fixing our minds on practical realities. The International Labour Organisation has served a great purpose in a noble cause in the past and we hope to see it extending, broadening and intensifying its activities for the lasting benefit of mankind. The Government of Pakistan pledges its wholehearted support to this great organisation.

Unfortunately the Government of Pakistan has not been able to make a full and detailed study of the valuable reports produced by the I.L.O. on the items on the agenda of the Conference. The reports did not arrive in time and some of them arrived only when the delegation was leaving Karachi. During the short time that was available, a detailed study of the reports was not practicable. This is also partly due to the fact that the separate Government of Pakistan was formed barely two and a half months ago. Much to our regret, therefore, we have not been able to prepare ourselves to make our contribution to the deliberations of the Conference as adequately and as fully as it was our wish to do. This fact, however, does not detract in the least from our resolve to make the maximum contribution which it is in our power to make towards the success of this Conference.

The attainment of freedom by the people of this subcontinent has unfortunately been the signal for an unprecedented communal upheaval, accompanied by wanton destruction of life and property. It has caused and is causing untold damage of every description. Large masses of population have been and are being uprooted from places where they and their forefathers have lived and laboured for generations. This tragic process of displacement is taking place under indescribable conditions of suffering and misery. The number involved runs into millions and all classes of population are involved. The period in which the forced exchange of such large masses of population is being effected is barely three months. Some idea of the magnitude of this tragedy can be formed from the fact that three million people have already shifted from one country to the other and about six million are awaiting a similar fate. I am making mention of this communal upheaval and the resulting displacement of population merely as a fact of the current history of India and Pakistan. The social and economic, as also psychological, consequences of this forced exchange of population on a vast scale have to be reckoned with in framing our policy as well as our programme of action in respect of the welfare of the working classes.

It is obvious that this displacement of population, more especially in view of the conditions in which it has occurred, will make revolutionary changes in the facts and data on which our policy has to be determined and our programme has to be framed. Very large changes are occurring in the character and composition of our population. Their economic standards and their social outlook will undergo changes which it is impossible at present to assess or foresee with a sufficient degree of accuracy. The programme of rehabilitation will place a tremendous strain on our re-

sources for years to come, and this strain will be felt in the economic sphere as well as on the entire administrative machinery of the Government. The general standard of life in the country is bound to suffer deterioration, which will raise new and difficult problems with which we shall have to grapple, and in which we shall need the assistance and co-operation of this Organisation. Our programme of economic development on which we were hoping to embark with the dawn of freedom will unfortunately be retarded. Industrial production will suffer and even agricultural production might receive a setback. The resources of our administrative and technical organisation will be strained to the utmost in recovering lost ground. Our Government, in the very beginning of its existence, is confronted with baffling problems of great magnitude, the solution of which will absorb most of our attention and energy. We are, however, fully conscious of our responsibilities to the working classes of our population, in which we include agricultural workers. Our Government is resolved to undertake planned development of the country's economy as far as it is possible to do so, and we hope to push forward with the goodwill and co-operation of other countries, more particularly those which are in a position to help. The workers form the bulk of our population, and their social and economic standards have to be guarded, improved and stabilised in the general interest. The displacement of people to which I have referred makes us more keenly conscious of our responsibilities.

I wish to mention that Pakistan has applied for membership of the International Labour Organisation, and its admission is awaiting the completion of certain usual formalities. As a Member of the International Labour Organisation, our Government is determined to do its utmost to discharge its obligations to the working classes. With the widening franchise which is bound to be a prominent feature of the reformed Constitution, the working classes will be able very largely to guide and control their own destinies.

I take this opportunity to call attention to the fact that Pakistan is starting its existence without any serious capital-labour problem, though we have large groups of seamen and railway labour. Pakistan is a comparatively backward area from the industrial point of view, and therefore it should have no serious labour problems till such time as we are able to make progress in industrialisation. We are in a position to derive full benefits from the experience of others and arrange the relation of employers and labour in such a way as to involve the minimum of friction. In giving a fair deal to the working classes we are not hampered in any way by vested interests. We are also very largely in a position to make a fresh start in regard to the problem of nationalisation *versus* private enterprise. There are no large or influential groups of population whose interests incline them to one theory or the other. We should therefore be enabled to order our affairs in the best interest of the maximum number, and it is the firm intention of my Government to do so.

In view of the extraordinary changes that are occurring in the character and composition of population in certain large areas of Pakistan, and in view of the conditions being largely unstable, it is not possible immediately to collect any data on which firm action can be based for the future. We have, however, inherited certain commitments in the form of Conventions ratified by India prior to 15 August 1947, when the independent Dominions of India and Pakistan came into existence. Our Labour Code is in every respect the same as that of India. We give our

solemn pledge that all such commitments shall be fully and duly honoured. In regard to the future, we will take all such action as may be found necessary and practicable for the amelioration of the social and economic conditions of the working classes, both agricultural and industrial, and in this we will seek the assistance and co-operation of the I.L.O. and its expert staff.

I feel I must make some mention of the necessity of attending to the social and economic requirements of agricultural workers. The agricultural worker has not received as much attention hitherto as the industrial worker. There have perhaps been good reasons for the comparative neglect of the agricultural worker. It was perhaps believed that he was able to live a cleaner and healthier life and was better provided with the primary necessities of life than his industrial counterpart. There were other reasons also, which it is needless to describe. With the increasing attention paid to the industrial worker, on the one hand, and the growing pressure on land, on the other, the scales have turned, at least in our country, against the agricultural workers, who form the bulk of the population. Pakistan, in common with most other Asian countries, is a predominantly agricultural country, and we are deeply interested in improving the social and economic conditions of this class of our population, on which the prosperity and stability of our country must largely depend. The standards of life of the industrial worker will have a precarious existence until the agricultural worker is able to support himself, by using the product of his skill and labour. It would be in the fitness of things if, with the holding of this Asian Regional Conference, the International Labour Organisation decided to give more adequate attention to the agricultural worker than was found necessary or possible in the past, when the perspective of the Organisation was predominantly European. If the standards of life of the agricultural worker in Asian countries could be improved substantially, they would constitute a firm guarantee not only of the prosperity of their own countries but also of the economic stability of Western countries. We are therefore in full agreement with India in thinking that land tenures, which have direct and immediate effects on the conditions of workers employed in agriculture, should be made the subject of a scientific study. This study should be given very high priority in order that some policy and programme might be evolved as early as possible for the amelioration of the conditions of agricultural workers.

In conclusion, I wish to pledge the full support of my Government and country to the International Labour Organisation in its beneficent and humanitarian activities on an international level. It is now universally accepted that unless full international co-operation is assured in all spheres, political, economic, social, etc., the future of mankind is in peril. The Organisation provides a forum where all can co-operate without any mental reservations and without any conflicts such as those which, as it appears to an oriental mind, disfigure the proceedings of certain other international assemblies. In the I.L.O. all can co-operate for the good of mankind.

Mr. WU (*Employers' delegate, China*) — The selection of Asia for the first time by the International Labour Organisation to be the place to hold the session of its Preparatory Conference will be recorded in history as an unprecedented advance in international amity. I feel greatly honoured to be given this opportunity of meeting the distinguished delegates from all the nations and of listening to their valuable opinions on

problems we are called together to discuss. As a representative of the Chinese industries, I will avail myself of this opportunity to state my views on labour from the standpoint of the industrialists of my country.

The Asian peoples have all along placed so much emphasis on agriculture as the cornerstone in the structure of their economic life, that little attention was paid to the development of industries. Not until the powerful impact of modern mass production threatened their very existence, did they begin to realise the many difficulties which they must overcome in modernising their primitive industries.

Although there are great potentialities for industrial production in all Asian countries, yet up to the present their labouring classes have not been able to achieve the standard of living their fellow-workers in the more advanced countries enjoy, nor are there open to them such opportunities of employment as are found in the West. All this may be attributed to their antiquated methods of production, which should have been improved upon long, long ago. From the standpoint of industrial producers, especially those of China, it is felt that the industries of all nations should have an equal chance of development, that the standard of living of the labourers everywhere should be uniformly elevated and that the labourers should have greater opportunities of employment, so that the social security of all nations can be stabilised and world peace be assured.

At present, the Asian nations, in my opinion, would all agree that for the protection of their infant industries a survey of the world situation is of paramount importance. To ensure effective protection, two points, which I wish to bring to the attention of the Conference, must be observed as prerequisites.

First : with the co-operation of the nations, a selective protective tariff policy should be adopted by the industrially backward nations. Such a protective policy is designed with no objects other than the protection of their infant industries, thereby ensuring the labourers a reasonable standard of living. Otherwise, the industries in Asia can never survive under the pressure of a formidable combination of the powerful economic system, highly efficient industrial management and advanced scientific knowledge and technical experience which the Western industries now wield. History provides countless instances of such measures being adopted by nations in the early stages of development of their industries. The West is urged to co-operate in the matter by supplying Asia, as much as it can, with machines and tools and raw materials for production, scientific instruments as well as technical services for the industrialisation of Asia, but not to flood our markets with luxuries and whatever commodities we ourselves can produce. Thus, in a measure, the living standard of our working classes will be protected and internal social security stabilised.

Second : the necessity of limiting the post-war Japanese industrial standard. Mr. Pauley has rightly said that the post-war Japanese industrial standard must be so limited that the standard of living of the Japanese is kept at a level not exceeding the average in other Asiatic countries, particularly in those which she had attempted to conquer by war. Prior to the Pacific War, Japan had become the most highly industrialised country in Asia. She took advantage of the discord then existing among the Powers to improve her techniques of production and, by intrigue, to rob her neighbours of their natural resources, which she soon fabricated into commodities for export. She was then enabled to monopolise the markets in the Far East, and in addition, expanded her

foreign trade to countries far and wide. This it was that impelled her to a course of world conquest and plunged us into an all-out exhaustive fight. This very costly lesson is still fresh in our mind and we can ill afford to have it repeated. We therefore should not let slip, by any shortsighted policy, the rare chance in a thousand of forbidding the Japanese industrial standard to rise above those in other Asiatic countries, so that social security and world peace may remain unshaken.

I urge you to consider thoroughly and agree ultimately to the two aforesaid points and supply practical measures in detail for their enforcement. I also hope that our Western friends will sympathise with us in our demands and contribute their assistance in carrying them out.

Mr. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — On behalf of the workers of India, I would like to congratulate the Director-General on his Report, which contains some very useful suggestions for the improvement of labour conditions in Asia. Although the establishment of the International Labour Organisation has helped the industrial workers of Asia in securing certain improvements in their conditions, it must be admitted that the progress in this direction has been very slow. The number of international labour Conventions and Recommendations ratified or accepted by the Governments of different Asian countries is very small. This unsatisfactory position may be partly attributed to the fact that many of the Asian countries were, and some of them even today continue to be, under the domination of foreign Powers. These Governments, not being popular or responsible in character, were not amenable to public opinion to the extent to which a popular or responsible Government has to be. Since the war, however, the situation has undergone a radical change, with the advent of political freedom in large regions of Asia. Labour rightly expects that the newly constituted popular and responsible Governments in the Asian countries will now lose no time in ratifying all the Conventions and Recommendations which have yet remained unrati-
fied.

I am glad that the Director-General realises the necessity of establishing a proper administrative machinery for the Asian region in order to make the work of the Organisation effective in this part of the world. As the report suggests, such a machinery should be representative in character, it should have at its disposal the best expert opinion and it should be closely integrated with international machinery in order to avoid isolated action. I would therefore urge that the I.L.O. should set up a permanent Asian regional committee, which will be representative of the Governments, employers and workpeople. This committee may be entrusted with the task of preparing national programmes for different countries in the Asian region, with a view to assisting those countries in the formulation and enforcement of a progressive labour policy. The committee should also devise ways and means for securing early ratification of international labour Conventions and Recommendations.

I would also suggest that the I.L.O. should establish an Asian regional office at a suitable place in Asia. The establishment of such an office will greatly facilitate the work of the future Asian regional conferences, as well as of the permanent Asian regional committee that I have proposed. The Asian office, for instance, may undertake special studies of labour questions in Asian countries with a view to indicating the lines on which a progressive labour policy may be evolved for the Asian region. This office should have a director with an adequate staff and proper equipment.

I would also emphasise the need of the I.L.O. having branch offices, like those in China and India, in other important countries of Asia.

I hope that the Organisation will hold Asian regional conferences at regular intervals, so that the problems of Asian labour may continue to receive proper attention. In addition to the problems of industrial labour in general, there are certain problems which are of particular importance in the Asian region. For instance, plantation agriculture occupies an important place in the economy of a number of tropical countries in Asia. So far, the Organisation has paid little attention to the conditions of plantation labourers, although they have been extremely unsatisfactory, particularly in respect of recruitment, wages, housing and freedom of association. Similarly, it is necessary that special attention should be paid to the toilers belonging to aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes. These unfortunate people, owing to their extreme backwardness and ignorance, suffer from special disadvantages, disabilities and exploitation both in the economic and the social spheres. Again, various forms of forced or free labour, different types of illegitimate exactions, and systems of servile land tenure are still prevalent in the agrarian structure of many Asian countries. It is, therefore, necessary that the International Labour Organisation should pay special attention to the problem of forced labour, which is a menace to the speedy development of the economic and social advancement of the region concerned.

The problem of agricultural workers in Asia is of great importance in view of the fact that they constitute more than one half of the total working people of the world. The standards of living of these people are very low, as rightly pointed out by the Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his opening speech. A twofold programme is necessary to secure improvement in the conditions of agricultural workers. The agrarian structure, which today is semi-feudal in character, should be completely overhauled so as to eliminate all the parasitic elements, such as landlords and other tenure holders who do not till the soil themselves. This land reform should be accompanied by a proper system of financing agricultural operations by State banks or co-operative societies, thus eliminating the evil of usury which is now rampant. Secondly, it is necessary to divert all surplus labour on land to industries and other occupations. To make this possible, a programme of industrialisation should be formulated and enforced within a reasonable specified period. As the Director-General rightly points out in his Report :

“ Unless the condition of the primary producer is improved, industry will languish for lack of markets ; and if grave social consequences are to be avoided, it is necessary to provide an outlet, through the expansion of industry, for the employment of workers displaced from the land by the more efficient organisation of agricultural production. ”

I regret that the I.L.O. so far has paid little attention to the problems of agricultural labourers, particularly those of Asia. I may point out in this connection that the Asian countries, though they contain an overwhelming majority of agricultural producers of the world, are very inadequately represented on the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the I.L.O. I would therefore urge that these countries should be adequately represented on this Committee and that peasants' organisations, such as the *kisan sabhas* in India, should be given representation on this Committee.

The conditions of Asian seafarers also require special attention from the International Labour Organisation on account of certain circumstances which are peculiar to them, such as their employment mostly on foreign ships and grave abuses in the method of recruitment. In fact, the Director-General, in his Report submitted to the 28th (Maritime) Session of the International Labour Conference, recognised the immediate need of conducting special studies into the conditions of Asian seafarers. However, the Organisation does not seem to have moved in the matter so far. I would therefore urge that the problems of Asian seafarers should be taken up at an early session of the Asian regional conference.

I hope this first Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation will constitute a landmark in the history of our movement for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the toiling millions of Asia. Though this is a Preparatory Conference, its importance is real. I feel sure this will be the first of a series of similar conferences. I trust those of the Asian countries which are attending this Conference not as regular Member States will be able to participate in all future conferences as regular Members of the International Labour Organisation. Similarly, I hope those countries which could not send delegations to this Conference will be able to do so in future and will participate in the deliberations as full-fledged Members.

Miss HINDER (*Representative of the United Nations*) — The Report of the Director-General draws attention to the fact that this Conference is a regional activity of the International Labour Organisation, and points out that its conclusions will not only serve to complete the work of the Organisation itself, but, through the Governing Body, can be communicated to organs of the United Nations and specialised agencies. I am one of the United Nations representatives specifically requested to attend this regional Asian meeting of the I.L.O. because I know something of the work and hopes of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, established under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. This body held its first meeting in Shanghai in June 1947. It will assemble again in Baguio in the Philippines on 24 November. The very title of Report IV which this Conference has under discussion—"The Economic Background of Social Policy" (and it is a masterpiece of a report)—indicates how closely the work of the Commission and that of the I.L.O. are likely to be linked. The Commission recognises that it is very new, and that it can grow in usefulness only as it grows in understanding of its problems; but signs are not wanting that, given the resources, it could do an important piece of work.

The Commission's tasks include initiating and participating in measures for the economic reconstruction of Asia and of the Far East, and for raising the level of economic activity. The purpose of this is, of course, to help to bring about a higher standard of living for the people of the region. In this the aim coincides with that of the International Labour Organisation, whose concern with the livelihood of the people is written into its history of some thirty years, and into the reassertion of purpose in the Declaration of Philadelphia.

The Economic Commission is one of the two regional commissions of the Economic and Social Council. The full Members are China, India, Siam and the Philippines, countries on the soil of Asia responsible for their own external relations (later, it is to be hoped, to be joined by Burma), together with the United Kingdom, United States, Union of Soviet Socia-

list Republics, Netherlands, France and Australia. In addition—and this distinguishing feature of the Commission is of considerable importance—it is to have as Associate Members countries within the scope of the Commission which are not responsible for their own international relations and consequently are not yet Members of the United Nations. It is expected that several countries will take advantage of this and apply, through the Power responsible, for admission to the Commission. The United Kingdom Government has already asked North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak, Ceylon, the Malayan Union and Singapore whether they wish to have membership. If so, the United Kingdom will propose them without delay. By a resolution of the Economic and Social Council, a metropolitan Government is requested to forward any application made.

Thus the Commission has the opportunity to be the voice in international councils of the peoples of the region in matters concerning their economic wellbeing. This gathering of the International Labour Organisation is a first meeting providing such a platform. The Commission's meetings as they follow will provide others. It is the hope of those who watch with interest the evolving of this new instrument that the countries of the region will themselves stimulate the Commission to action. The Commission may in turn make recommendations directly to Members and Associated Members and to specialised agencies which are at work in the region. Except in matters which would have important effects on the economy of the world as a whole, the Commission need not refer its proposals to the Economic and Social Council. Moreover, the Commission has the right, after discussion with specialised agencies in the same general field, to establish subsidiary bodies, subject to confirmation by the Council.

It will thus be seen that there is a place for close consultation and collaboration between the Commission as its work evolves and the International Labour Organisation as it plans a new phase of work in Asia. Among the subjects in which both bodies are interested is technical training, both at the worker and at the professional level. I am empowered by the Executive Secretary of the Commission to discuss, while I am here, informally with I.L.O. officials the steps which these two bodies could take to secure progress in these important fields. I am glad to see that the Indian Government has resolutions along these lines and I hope that some amendments may be accepted which will mean that the two organisations may go forward together in this sphere.

I close by expressing to the senior international organisation the gratitude of the newer ones for its long fruitful history and for its courageous wartime policies, which did much in preserving among the nations of the world confidence in possible successful international action.

Dr. MALIK (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I have great pleasure in associating myself with the tributes paid by the previous speakers to the Director-General for the lucid and able Report presented by him to this Conference. The Report gives us some useful guidance in evolving a progressive labour policy for the Asian region. The agenda before the Conference is very comprehensive and covers a large number of questions.

In my opinion the problem of social security is of great importance and requires immediate attention from the Governments of the Asian countries. I would, therefore, urge that the Government of Pakistan, which has joined the International Labour Organisation very recently, should take up this question in all seriousness and should make at least

a good beginning in building up a comprehensive and integrated system of social security.

The enforcement of a programme for economic development would greatly assist us in our endeavours to provide social security, particularly in a country like Pakistan, which is industrially backward. It is therefore essential that national programmes for the economic advancement of various regions in Asia should be undertaken by the Governments concerned. Nationalisation of basic and important industries alone can promote a speedy development of economic resources. Nationalisation of these industries is a comparatively easy task in a country like Pakistan, where the industries are very inadequately developed. This starting of new industries can be undertaken by the State itself.

The housing conditions of industrial workers, which were already deplorable, have further deteriorated since the war. These conditions require to be improved by executing a national programme of housing on an adequate scale. Unless the workers are decently housed and properly fed, it is idle to expect improvement in their efficiency. Speaking on the Director-General's Report, an Employers' delegate blamed the Asian workers for their low production level. I regret that the delegate should have failed to realise that the only way to increase industrial efficiency and consequently production is to satisfy the elementary human needs of labour, such as decent housing, proper diet and reasonable conditions of work. It is also necessary not only to spread literacy amongst the workers but also to give them vocational training. Another important factor which is responsible for the low production level in Asian countries is the lack of up-to-date industrial plant and machinery. Given proper training and conditions of life and work, industrial labour in India can be expected to be as efficient as labour in European or American countries.

It is often said by employers, and also by some Ministers, that the strike wave which we are now experiencing in many Asian countries is due to the agitation carried on by trade union leaders. This is an entirely wrong view to take. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, rightly pointed out in his opening speech that it is bad conditions that generally lead to labour troubles, and not merely a set of agitators. The only way to minimise strikes is to improve labour conditions. This alone will bring industrial peace.

The wage level of industrial workers in Asia, which was already low, has gone down further since the war. I would like to suggest that this Conference should adopt a resolution urging the Governments concerned to take immediate steps to increase the wage level so as to at least bring it into line with the pre-war level, and secondly to raise it further by definite stages by adopting measures to check inflation and to control the prices of all essential commodities. A rise in the wage levels would not only increase the efficiency of the working population but would also result in speedy industrial development by raising the purchasing power of the masses, thereby providing adequate markets for the products of indigenous industry. In other words, a policy of rapid industrialisation is closely interlinked with the question of raising the real wage levels of the toiling masses.

With regard to the immediate programme of action, which is one of the items on the agenda of this Conference, I would urge that the newly-born State of Pakistan should see that it does not lag behind the progressive countries of the world in the matter of enforcing fair labour standards. In fact, Pakistan's desire should be to prevent itself being classed at the inter-

national labour conferences as a backward country in matters of social policy. It is needless to point out in this connection that the State of Pakistan should immediately inform the International Labour Office that Pakistan should be considered as having ratified all the Conventions and accepted all the Recommendations which were ratified or accepted by India at the time of the formation of the new State. This was done by Burma some years ago, when it separated itself from India. I am glad that Pakistan lost no time in securing membership of the Organisation, as a result of which it was possible for the Pakistan delegation to take part in the deliberations of this Conference. I hope that the Government of Pakistan will continue to take active interest in the work of the I.L.O. and will generally enforce the labour standards set by the International Labour Conference from time to time.

Mr. MUNSHI (*Representative of the Indian States, Government delegation, India*) — On behalf of the Ministers of Indian States who are present here, I wish to express our sincere thanks for this opportunity of addressing the Conference.

Till now Indian States were allowed by the British to remain as independent units, so far as internal administration was concerned. The Central Government took no interest in their economic advance. As a result, smaller Indian States, and their number came to 500 and more, not only did not advance economically but also lost all sense of any advancement in that direction. A few bigger States, like Cochin, Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, Gwalior, Indore, Patiala and some others, tried to keep pace with British India in the general economic advance of the country.

With the dawn of freedom and establishment of independent government in India, the whole atmosphere has now changed, and we, in the Indian States which have acceded to the Indian Union, feel a strong sense of oneness with the free Indian Government at the centre. A new sense of urgency and drive impels us, both peoples and rulers of the Indian States, and a healthy rivalry is growing among us to progress economically. I must admit that circumstances have left us behind in several matters, especially economic; but I must also state that some of the bigger States have received considerable care from their benevolent rulers, and in some matters they have even given a lead to the rest of India. In matters of labour legislation most of us have looked to the Government of India, but it may be that, in its working here and there, great slackness has been evident. But, as I said above, with the birth of freedom, not only are we feeling a very strong urge to step up to the front, whereas we have so far lagged behind, but we do mean to go ahead, and try to prove worthy of our ancient political inheritance.

Slow working and lower efficiency in the Asian countries may be due to various causes—natural and man-made. The heat of the tropics and poverty of the masses are the main factors responsible. The first can be alleviated by better working conditions, and for the second the workers can help themselves by producing more. But over and above heat and poverty, dependence was a third factor, which was also responsible for this lower efficiency. And now that we are free, and breathe a new life full of new radiance and fresh inspiration, we can hope to easily get over this difficulty.

Of course, production unaccompanied by equitable distribution of profits will be useless. Better distribution will increase the purchasing power of the workers and will urge them to a sense of greater production.

As regards social security, it will be patent to the most casual observer that the progress made by India is far from satisfactory, and we feel ourselves very much behind as compared to other highly-industrialised countries. This has been mainly due, as I said before, to the political dependence of India, which has had the effect of creating apathy and deadening all interest in all spheres of life. Since the advent of independence, however, there are already visible signs amongst the people and pilots of the country, of dissatisfaction at the present state of things, and a burning desire has grown to improve India's general social conditions so as to bring it on a level with other great countries of the world.

The first World War brought to the forefront questions of industrial workers, and the lead given by the International Labour Organisation by passing various resolutions, making comprehensive Recommendations and adopting numerous Conventions, resulted in the passing of several labour laws by advanced Member States of the Organisation and by India, including the bigger Indian States. The last great World War, however, has proved beyond doubt that the question of the greatest importance that affects the world is that of the primary producers of foodstuffs. Everywhere in the world there is a dire shortage of food, and severe austerity measures are adopted to meet it everywhere, especially in Asia. This reminds us of the prime fact that ours is a rural economy; and it would be well to pause and consider whether for us Asians it would be to our advantage completely to copy and follow the machine-industrialisation of the other countries. Naturally, we shall have to think more and more of the villages and the agriculturists. From this viewpoint, the holding of this Regional Conference is really important and very useful. Problems facing Asian countries with a predominantly rural economy are very different from those of highly industrialised countries of Europe and America. As was done yesterday by the Indian Employers' delegate, Sir Shri Ram, I earnestly request the I.L.O. to take the initiative in this matter and to institute several statistical enquiries into the conditions of the lakhs and crores of people living in villages, especially agricultural workers of the Asian countries. I, personally, and all the Ministers of the Indian States present here feel that the sooner we change our angle of vision and give proper attention to the importance of our primary producers, the better it will be for the right development of all Asian countries. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that our largest and most important industry is agriculture.

In the end, the Ministers of Indian States assembled here assure the International Labour Organisation and the Indian Union that by a timely and careful process of co-ordination they will always try to keep pace with all labour laws that promote the best interests of the employers and the employees and bring to India peace and plenty.

MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION, BOMBAY

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) -- Before the Conference adjourns, I shall call upon the Clerk of the Conference to make an announcement.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The following message of goodwill has been received by the Conference Secretariat from the National Seamen's Union, Bombay :

“ On behalf of the members of the National Seamen’s Union Bombay and my humble self I wish the Conference every success.
Abdulkader Mohamed SERANG.”

MESSAGE FROM THE CHINESE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — I call upon the Clerk of the Conference to read another message of goodwill.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE — The following message has been received from the President and members of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta :

“ The President and members of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce Calcutta pay their tribute to the efforts of the Asian Regional Conference towards the promotion of the welfare of labour in the Asian countries and the betterment of their conditions in line with those of the other nations in the world. We earnestly wish the Conference every success.

“Greetings from the President, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.”

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)

SIXTH SITTING

Friday, 31 October 1947, 10.45 a.m.

Presidents: Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Cresson

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND ITEM IV : DISCUSSION (*contd.*)

The PRESIDENT — We shall continue the general discussion of the Report of the Director-General and Report IV.

Mr. GIRI (*Special representative, Government delegation, India*) — I consider it a proud privilege and honour to have been called upon to address this historic gathering. Having been connected with labour organisations in my country, India, for over a quarter of a century, I have been following with great interest the development and growth of the International Labour Organisation. I played my humble role as delegate on behalf of the workers of India in the year 1927, when I emphasised and outlined the necessity for organising regional conferences. I therefore congratulate myself that I am present at the first session of such a regional conference. At the same time I want to make quite clear my own idea of the implications of these regional bodies. In my view, these regional conferences have a limited scope and limited value till the Asian workers attain the same standards, I mean international standards, that prevail in other countries. After all, it must be remembered that labour is not national, is not regional, but international in its aspect. I therefore would like to emphasise this, and I am sure the Workers' delegates, the Government delegates, as well as the Employers' delegates will think more in terms of the international aspect rather than of mere national aspects. The workers of India and the workers of Asia are grateful to the International Labour Organisation for the great work it has done on their behalf, though in a limited character. The Organisation has given opportunities year after year for the Workers' delegates and leaders to meet on an international platform, discuss labour questions and exchange views and compare notes. Apart from this, the International Labour Organisation gave an impetus to the growth of the trade union movement in backward countries ; through its various Recommendations and Conventions it gave encouragement to the enactment of labour laws of their own countries. I am therefore glad that this Conference is meeting in this historic hall today.

I am glad that we enjoy freedom in most of the Asian countries. The last war was fought, whatever the professions of certain nations may be, for imperialistic domination, for preserving the territories that they had. Thanks to the sufferings and sacrifices of political leaders and peoples of Asia, today Hitlerism and Fascism have disappeared, and I hope im-

perialism will be buried ten fathoms deep. When Mahatma Gandhi gave his message of "Quit India", there were many at that time who scoffed, but today everybody begins to pray. I am glad that "Quit India" has become "Quit Asia", and that in every country on this side of the globe, whether it is Egypt, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Indo-China or any other place, the people have realised that they must be politically free. But let me make it quite clear that political freedom has no meaning for the masses in different countries unless the common man and his family acquire the right to live, the right to work, the right to have three square meals a day, the right to have enough clothing, the right to have decent housing and the right to have social security which will look after an individual not merely from the cradle to the grave, but from the womb to the grave. I am glad that the Honourable President of this Assembly and his able secretary and his officers have introduced measures for the amelioration of the workers, especially in the matter of social security. I am confident also that when this Conference finishes its deliberations and makes its recommendations, the Honourable Minister who is the President of this Assembly will liberalise the measures that are on the anvil and will introduce amendments to make India feel that she is setting an example to the rest of the world in labour legislation. With Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who believes in a socialistic order based on principles of democracy, as the Prime Minister of India, the gradual nationalisation of the means of production and socialisation of distribution and exchange are likely in India, and that is the only panacea for the ills that face us today.

I do therefore feel that planning, whether it is for labour or for industry—or, for that matter, for any aspect of life in any country—must necessarily be based on a programme of action to be finished in a five or ten-year period. In the years 1937-1939 I had the privilege, while I was Minister for Industries and Labour in Madras, to be the convener of the All-India National Planning Committee, which was presided over first by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and later by my esteemed leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. At that time India was under subjection and we felt that that important work of planning could only be for a free India. Now that freedom has been attained, I feel that planning should be not only for a free and independent India, but for a socialist India; then alone will it be useful for the masses of this country. I read in the press, and I hear from the platform, proposals for an industrial truce in this country and elsewhere. Unfortunately in this country the employers in the past were not sympathetic towards the welfare of the workers and were reactionary in character. Therefore it is really difficult to expect a truce between workers and employers. But since now the Government of India is a free agent and the free Government of an independent country, I am sure it will take its courage in both hands and convene a tripartite conference. So long as the workers are secured their fundamental rights for the present and for the future, a reasonable understanding on various matters that face the country today, such as will keep the country out of starvation and will guarantee production, is bound to be arrived at, to the general satisfaction.

I feel that conferences such as this are very useful. For instance, the recent Asian Relations Conference, brought into existence by Pandit Nehru, helped the Asian countries to realise that while they can be proud of their own countries and nationality, they can be even prouder that they belong to Asia and are citizens of Asia. I am speaking from personal ex-

perience, for today I am the Representative of the Government of India in Ceylon. Whatever differences might have existed on political and economic issues between these two countries, today the atmosphere is very happy and bright for a settlement of all points at issue. Ceylon and India realise, if they have not realised already, that as free countries they must march together for their economic and political emancipation. I must congratulate the Prime Minister of Ceylon and the statesmen of Ceylon on their ardent desire to settle these differences at the earliest opportunity. On this side Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru and other statesmen have made it clear that if Indians want to stay in Ceylon, they must feel proud that they are Ceylonese, and declare their intention to stay in Ceylon, live for Ceylon and die for Ceylon. Having got these issues cleared, the stage is set for a settlement of all pending issues, and I am confident that this will be done. The leader of the Ceylon delegation, Mr. De Silva, who is the representative of Ceylon in India, is known for his fairplay and justice ; and he is playing his part and I am playing my part to see that both these two countries settle their differences.

Sir Shri Ram was referring two days ago to the disparity in wages as between agricultural workers and industrial workers. Based on the little experience I had a year ago when I was Minister for Industries and Labour in Madras, I can assure him that the industrialists need not shed crocodile tears about the condition of agricultural workers. Trade unionism is getting into the villages. The agricultural workers are becoming conscious of their difficulties and are trying to solve them, and I shall not be surprised if one day the landlord, if he still exists, will see that the agricultural workers are paid more than the industrial workers. Anyway, it is necessary that this Conference should tackle the matters relating to agricultural workers, because there have not been many trade unions amongst agricultural workers. Wage boards have to be set up to fix wages for these workers where the trade union movement has not been strong.

The League of Nations, which was a "League of Nations", disappeared. The United Nations organisation I hope will succeed where the League of Nations failed, though the present outlook is not very bright. I am not a prophet, but I say this, that a time may come when this great organisation—the International Labour Organisation—may have to step in where the League and the United Nations might fail. After all, it must be remembered that the International Labour Organisation represents the main interests in the world—those of employers, of workers and of Governments. Political ills will not disappear, and the desire of nations to subject other nations will also not disappear, unless these three elements, sitting together at a common table, settle not only the economic problems but the political problems as well.

I want to make it quite clear that we cannot be satisfied with the unity of Asia alone. The workers and those who believe in the peace of the world will not rest content unless we march towards the goal of an international State at the earliest opportunity. A great deal depends upon the workers of every country, and the workers' organisations have a great responsibility in this matter. The Governments and employers must realise that workers are not merely wage earners saddled with the responsibility of production, but are also citizens doing a great work for the community, and that they must be called upon as dominant partners of industry to see that industry thrives.

I desire, therefore, that this Conference should consider the necessity of making the workers feel that they have a voice in the running of industry.

Mr. LIM (*Workers' delegate, Singapore*) — As the three main items on the agenda are being discussed in committee, I would not take up your time by giving a discourse which will merely be a repetition of what has been heard and of what has been read in the illuminating and instructive reports prepared by the I.L.O. These matters are in competent hands and when the results of the deliberations are made known in this Conference, it will be time to discuss them. What I would like to do is just to make a few observations.

When the workers ask for an increase in their wage, to make it somewhere near a living wage, the employers, and I am sorry to say the Government as well, call it inflation; but when the employers set aside large sums out of their profits earned since the liberation, when they submit claims to the Governments for sums of money to replace the losses sustained as a result of the war, and even when they claim money for the replacement of their motor cars, they call it rehabilitation. Workers' wants are called inflation, but employers' wants are called rehabilitation. Previous to the last war, the Asian workers were generally inarticulate and the employers left it at that, satisfied with the situation. But now when the workers are no longer inarticulate, but are asking for a square deal, labour leaders are being labelled by employers as agitators. We are indeed living in a sick world, and so long as no immediate and constructive steps are taken to remedy this social injustice, it will remain a sick world.

Sir Shri Ram, the Indian Employers' delegate, referred to the Director-General's Report and quoted the observation that there could be little social progress in the absence of economic development, and he stopped there. May I refer to page 26 of the Report and quote? "While it is true that economic development is a necessary condition for social progress ... such progress can only be achieved by ensuring that the wealth produced by a community is used for the good of all its members." *Such progress can only be achieved by ensuring that the wealth produced by the community is used for the good of all its members.* Perhaps this part has been overlooked. Sir Shri Ram then referred to page 32 of the Report and spoke on the question of real needs. To him the urgent need at the moment is increased production, but to us there can be no increased production unless and until there is an increase in our standard of living as well as an assurance of social security. A half-starved worker, a sick worker, a worker weighed down by mental agonies over the welfare of his family as a result of social insecurity, such a worker, even with the very best will in the world, cannot do much to increase production. We have suffered and are still suffering the pangs of hunger; we cry when we hear our children cry for bare human needs which we cannot afford; and we pulled through the war years sustained by hopes of a decent future—and yet our employers now tell us that the urgent need today is to increase production so that we can increase their profits. And when this does happen, to quote Sir Shri Ram's words, "it will be our first duty to see that labour profits by the increased production". What I have said is not said in self-pity, but is a declaration of social injustice. Our employers say that they have our welfare at heart and that their sympathies are always with us. Mere expression of sympathy is of no use to us. What we want is implementation of that expression of sympathy. To the employers I would like to say this: "It is always more honourable to give voluntarily than to be forced to give." May these words find a place in their hearts. When it was made known to Asian workers many months ago that this Conference would be held, they looked forward, and are still

looking forward, with great hopes, and are now hanging on with a prayer on their lips that this Conference will be the turning point in Asian labour history. That prayer must be heard in this Conference and that hope must not be deferred, because hope deferred makes the heart sick. May this Conference bear this in mind in its deliberations. It is the earnest hope of my country (I am glad to say that—comparatively speaking—my country is quite advanced in its labour policy) that this Conference may not be turned into nothing but a talking shop.

Speaking of this recalls to my mind the first meeting of the Social Security Committee of this Conference, when the leader of the Employers' group went to the extent of speaking bitterly on the resolution on social security put forward by the Government of India, and not content with lashing out at the Government of India—which, by the way, was his own Government—he described the resolution as a “cruel joke”. Obviously the Workers' group could not maintain its equanimity. Our hearts were pierced and there was a storm and this meeting landed us nowhere. Incidentally, it turned out that the leader of the Employers' group had a bone to pick with his own Government and that he used this Asian platform to fight it out with his Government. I give this instance to illustrate what I mean by a talking shop. It is the earnest hope of my country that this Conference should not be turned into a talking shop. Let us all, Employers, Workers and Governments alike, not lose this golden opportunity of finding a solution which will enable all the three groups to march arm in arm (if that were possible) towards social progress for Asian countries. This will certainly bring with it economic development. Let us not turn this hall into a battlefield where the strongest group will have its way. Let us all put our heads together to solve this disgraceful state of affairs. With mutual confidence, mutual understanding and mutual help, something good will certainly emerge out of this Conference.

You will note that I have not offered my congratulations, as the congratulations already showered by previous speakers might by now have made the I.L.O. Governing Body blush. But I want to say this. If this Conference, this historic tripartite assembly, brings about social justice in all the countries, the Asian workers will not be behind in their gratitude to the I.L.O. for this achievement.

Dr. MOOKERJEE (*Government delegate, India*) — Speaker after speaker has rightly expressed gratitude and satisfaction at the holding of the first regional labour conference in Asia. That it should have been held in India and that you, Mr. President, should have been called upon to preside is a privilege which India deeply appreciates.

Asia contains more than half of the world's population, of whom, as the Report on “The Economic Background of Social Policy” points out, “poverty is the common characteristic”. Problems of Asian countries must, therefore, receive the continuous attention of the International Labour Organisation if it is to help to realise the objectives enshrined in the Philadelphia Charter. India wholeheartedly supports the ideals set out in this historic document and would like to see the energies of the Organisation concentrated on the fulfilment of these ideals. The Director-General has pointed out that the many social problems, some foreseeable, others not, which will arise in Asia require the establishment of suitable administrative machinery, so representative in character that the decisions taken will be quickly implemented; and that it should be closely integrated with international machinery in order to avoid isolated action.

We wholeheartedly endorse this suggestion. But as the Director-General has recognised, economic and social conditions in Asian countries are so different from those of European and American States that they call for a different approach, or, if I may interpret what is probably in his mind, for regional study and regional approach, with an eye always on the ideals of the Charter.

It is no reflection on the Organisation, but an inevitable consequence of the distance that separates, that the International Labour Organisation staff, working in Geneva and Montreal, cannot give proper consideration to the social and labour problems of Asia. What is needed is detailed study on the spot in the light of international experience. For this a regional labour commission may be constituted on a tripartite basis, representing all the Asian countries and with such additional members as the Governing Body may consider necessary. Naturally it should be assisted by an adequate secretarial staff located in Asia. It would be the function of the commission to arrange for a systematic study of Asian problems, advise the International Labour Office on the Asian aspect of the general questions that come up for consideration of the Governing Body and questions of special interest to Asian countries which are ripe for discussion at the main Conference, arrange for the submission of studies and reports required for Asian regional conferences and undertake such other functions as may be necessary for securing a proper understanding and appreciation of Asian labour and social problems. Unless the International Labour Organisation can be properly oriented to deal with Asian problems, it will fail as an international organisation. We cannot let it fail, for that would be the end of all truly international effort to promote social progress.

I spoke just now of reciprocal obligations. While we are ready and anxious to co-operate and make the Organisation serve its purpose, the Organisation should in its turn remove the difficulties in the way of our active participation in its labours. Although nearly 60 per cent. of the working population of the world is in Asia, Asian countries have so far received most inadequate representation on the Governing Body. Only 5 out of 32 members are from Asia. As a result the problems of Asian countries have hardly received adequate consideration. We hope and expect that this will be put right.

Of almost equal importance is the adequate representation of Asia on the staff of the International Labour Organisation's head offices at Geneva and Montreal. There are, I am told, at present only 12 Asians in a total of 145 officers, counting from members of section onwards. The reason for this seems to be that the International Labour Organisation, as it is constituted today, is mostly European and American in outlook and composition. Let me not be misunderstood. I appreciate that officials drawn from European and American countries are anxious to serve the Organisation as efficiently as they can. But they lack that background and knowledge of Asian conditions which only people born and brought up in Asia can possess. If the Office is to become an efficient instrument of a truly representative international organisation, a serious and sustained effort should be made to absorb more Asian nationals into the Organisation.

Again, the comparatively heavy cost which Asian countries have to incur in sending an adequate delegation to the International Labour Conference, usually held in Europe or America, has been a third obstacle in the close association of Asia with these conferences. These matters also require looking into.

The Director-General has pointed out that the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation is based on the concept of one world, and that equality of representation has to be accorded to all States Members at the Conference. We have no quarrel with this. At the same time we must not overlook the fact that, unless a proper balance is maintained in this matter, important regions are liable to become submerged. Of the 54 countries now in the membership of the International Labour Organisation, only 8 are from Asia. Asian countries must be enabled to take a larger share in the deliberations of the International Labour Organisation. We welcome the recent admission of the Philippines and Pakistan. We hope that in the near future Burma, Ceylon and Malaya will become full Members of the Organisation. We shall also look forward to the early admission of Japan, Viet Nam and the countries in Indo-China and Indonesia. These countries are in no less need of help and guidance in their attempts to reorganise and raise the standard of living of their people. Let us not make a fetish of so-called international status. We are an organisation pledged to bring about an improvement in social standards. If a country accepts our objective and desires to join us and has the necessary legislative and executive authority to fulfil the obligations entailed by membership, let us help it to become a member. In asking for the admission of a larger number of Asian countries, we are not aiming at a greater control in the Organisation. We do not favour groups or cliques. Member States must not think in terms of control of the Organisation, but of contributions, not merely in terms of money but of ideas. It is only by keeping itself receptive of new ideas and seeking to serve humanity everywhere, animated by an irresistible urge for material and spiritual development, that the Organisation can really fulfil itself.

Asia, with its age-long and humane civilisations, has ideas to contribute. And Asia is coming into its own. We in India—and we note with intense pleasure, others around us—have risen into the light of freedom or are rapidly in the process of doing so.

But economic freedom, so necessary, as has been emphasised, for the improvement of standards of living, can only follow and not precede political freedom. The premier countries of Asia, although they have political freedom now, are still in the process of achieving economic freedom. This special feature in the Asian scene will, I trust, be kept in view in all the deliberations of the I.L.O., as its effective recognition by non-Asian countries (which are more progressive today) will be of considerable help to the Asian countries in contributing their due share to international wellbeing.

As you, Mr. President, have pointed out in your address, it is that passionate urge to provide for our people the means for a better life which was the mainspring of our struggle for freedom. How, then, are we now going about our task? In the field of social service and betterment of the masses we have before us always the high ideals of the Philadelphia Charter. But our energies must for a while be bent mainly to the fight against poverty, to the provision of those first essentials, like cloth, housing, food, medical care and education, without which social security is utterly meaningless. We have under consideration various plans for achieving an increase in national wealth through scientific agriculture and industrial development. We propose to undertake multi-purpose schemes for the development of our riverine basins on the model of the Tennessee Valley scheme, and arrange for better yield through land clearance, provision of better seeds, fertilisers and implements and encouragement of

co-operative cultivation. Through hydro-electric development we aim to bring cheap power to the country and promote decentralisation of industry so as to attain a proper balance between town and country life. We have plans for increasing our production of coal, steel, cement, textiles, paper and other commodities for which we have the necessary natural resources. We are also planning a rapid extension of educational and health services and the institution of schemes for technical training. We have a five-year programme to improve the conditions of our workers so that they may share at every step in the increase in national wealth. This programme covers the extension of the field of regulative endeavour to secure just and humane conditions of work, the organisation of social security services for specified categories of workers, the provision of housing and the establishment of suitable tripartite organisations in which representatives of workers and employers will collaborate with Government in the framing of social and labour policies.

For the attainment of these objectives, mutual trust and full co-operation between the three parties are absolutely essential. I would therefore strongly endorse the Prime Minister's plea for an industrial truce at least for a limited period, so that approaches in which the interests of labour, employers and the Government coincide may be worked out in unison and the pitfalls consequent on attempts at exploitation, economic domination or narrow preferences of class to nation wisely avoided. Rights of employers or of workers or of the State cannot in practice be treated as absolute, separate and sacrosanct entities. Rights can never be divorced from obligations. Since it is the improvement of the conditions of the common man which in the ultimate analysis is our aim, we must inevitably work for a synthesis of the rights and duties of the three several parties, which, though they may sometimes appear conflicting on the surface, can, given the proper will, be integrated into a common line of action.

All these plans require much equipment and large numbers of skilled workers, which for the present we do not ourselves adequately possess. We therefore look to the industrially advanced countries for assistance in the provision of machinery and facilities for training our workers. In this the International Labour Organisation can do much to help us. It can enlist the co-operation and help of employers and workers in other countries in enabling us to acquire the necessary training and technical skill in a short period. More important still, the Organisation should mobilise international public opinion to recognise the urgent necessity of furthering the development of Asian countries as the only means of raising the standard of living of the Asian peoples. If it is true that poverty anywhere means prosperity nowhere, the eradication of poverty in Asia can and ought to be an end in itself to the prosperous regions of the world; not a means to an end, but an object to be pursued solely for the benefit and in the interests of Asian peoples. Thus only can we build a better world, a world indivisible, in which prosperity reigns everywhere. And so devoid of greed, not wanting what others have, we shall surely usher in an era of continuous peace.

(Mr. Cresson takes the Chair.)

Interpretation: Mr. LIU (*Workers' delegate, China*): The Asian Regional Conference which is holding its preparatory session here today had been a cherished dream for the Asian countries. It has been realised only through the constant efforts on the part of some Asian delegates to

earlier Conferences of the International Labour Organisation and through careful preparations by the I.L.O. It gives me great pleasure to represent the Chinese workers at this Conference, which is of such great significance.

The main object of the present Conference is not only to review the general labour policy of the Asian countries and evolve a system of social security for all of them, but also to solve the problems of implementation of the international labour Conventions in all Asian countries and to study the economic background of social policy of these countries. The delegates of different countries here have already contributed much to the solution of these problems. It is, however, for this Conference to draw up a plan for Asian labour through frank discussions among the delegates.

An analysis of the international position of the Asian countries is necessary before discussions on their problems of labour policy and social security. The Asian countries have been struggling for long for their liberation. When the second World War broke out, the Asian peoples fought on the side of justice and made tremendous sacrifices. At the successful conclusion of the war some Asian countries have formally attained freedom. But even now they have not really secured the substance of liberty and equality. Some of them are still under colonial subjection, while others, which are now politically independent, are yet denied their economic freedom. Under such circumstances the workers of the Asian countries are the worst sufferers. They are exploited by their national capitalists and have to bear the burden of economic aggression from outside as well. The fact that the position and the living standards of Asian labour fall far behind those of European and American labour is a direct consequence of industrial backwardness and social insecurity in this region. The Asian workers must therefore take it as their duty to improve the living condition of the Asian peoples. They must efficiently unite and co-operate among themselves and adopt a non-political stand. Unaffected by politics, they will be in a better position to safeguard the interests of labour and to struggle for the alleviation of the sufferings of Asian labour.

We highly appreciate the past achievements of the International Labour Organisation. However, its achievements have hitherto been concentrated mainly on Europe and America and have little apparent effect on most of the Asian countries. The absence of the Director-General of the I.L.O. from this Conference, whereas he was present at the Third American Regional Conference in Mexico City in April 1946, substantiates my statement. The enormous difference between the Asian countries and the industrially advanced countries of the West in economic development, social traditions and living standards has made it almost impossible for the Asian countries to implement a number of the Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference. Some Asian countries have ratified very few Conventions so far. In some cases the Conventions ratified have not been fully implemented. Social and economic backwardness is partly responsible for the non-ratification of the Conventions and for delay in their enforcement. But this is also due to the lack of determination on the part of the Governments and want of sincerity on the part of the capitalists.

Though the living standards of workers in Asian countries have somewhat improved, the majority of them are still labouring under extreme poverty and malnutrition. This affects not only the health of the workers, but also the very existence of the whole nation. Are we to allow such

conditions to continue ? Today, under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation, the Asian Regional Conference has been brought into being. It should be the common ambition of the delegates who participate in this Conference to make Asia more secure for the Asian peoples. This Conference has to satisfy hundreds of millions of workers of Asia with some tangible results.

First of all, the International Labour Organisation should undertake a general investigation and set up special machinery for Asia, particularly to ensure that the living standards of labour are raised equally in the different countries of Asia. At the same time the workers must, by their own strength and effective action, demand a general implementation of the international Conventions in their own countries. Having regard to the general condition of Asia and the world, we believe that eight hours per working day, with special safeguards for woman and child labour, should be considered the minimum condition and lowest standard of reasonable living.

China is a Republic based on the "Three People's Principles" as laid down in her recently adopted Constitution. Accordingly, our objectives are threefold : first, international equality ; second, political equality ; and third, economic equality. Since our war of resistance, which began in 1937, China has been playing a new role in the international sphere. And since the promulgation of our new Constitution, a system of democracy has been introduced in China. But economic equality is yet to be achieved for the working classes in China, including the agricultural workers. The numbers of workers' unions and peasants' unions have increased, and wages have also been raised considerably. In most areas in China today, wages are calculated according to the cost-of-living index. Yet they are far below the European and the American standards.

We, the workers of China, desire to review in this Conference all the labour problems of Asia with the delegates, particularly the Workers' delegates, from other Asian countries ; and in close association, we shall together seek to ensure a parallel economic development for all Asian countries. Here we may refer especially to labour conditions in Japan. We want to point out particularly the low wages and long working hours prevalent in Japan today, which have no comparison in any other country. Belonging to the same brotherhood of workers, we consider it our duty to voice the demand of the Japanese workers for the alleviation of their sufferings and to seek balanced development for all Asian countries. Also to avoid the dumping of cheap Japanese goods by the Japanese industrialists, it is necessary to raise the living standard of Japanese workers. On this question we have submitted a separate resolution, which, we hope, will have your valuable support.

We deeply regret the absence in this Conference of representatives of some Asian countries, such as Korea, Indonesia, Japan and Viet Nam. We hope that they will all attend the First Asian Regional Conference, which is scheduled to be held in China. Let us make sure now that the Asian Regional Conference will have nothing to regret then and that the Conference itself will be nothing but a success.

Mr. M. W. H. DE SILVA (*Government delegate, Ceylon*) — Many previous speakers have already expressed their appreciation of the action taken by the Director-General and the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation in arranging to hold this Regional Conference. I too take advantage of this opportunity to add the thanks of the people

and the Government of Ceylon. I also wish to thank the Government of India for the facilities afforded for holding this Conference.

There is one reference in the Director-General's Report which is of particular interest to Ceylon at this juncture. It is the reference to the negotiations entered into by the I.L.O. to enable Ceylon to be represented at this Conference by a separate delegation and not, as hitherto in I.L.O. deliberations, by the delegation of the metropolitan Member State. We would all have been very glad if similar arrangements could have been made for the representation of other countries of the Asian region, particularly, Indonesia and Viet Nam. Although regional conferences are to be welcomed as stages on the road to the attainment in Asian countries of standards embodied and adopted in the international labour Conventions and Recommendations, the ultimate goal for all countries in the Asian region should be full membership of the Organisation, with all the rights and obligations which such membership entails.

I believe that I can claim for Ceylon that it is not more backward than other Asian countries in social services and labour legislation. Ceylon has implemented, by means of the necessary legislation, the 14 Conventions entered into on her behalf by the metropolitan Power. It will not be long before my country will attain Dominion status and will be free to administer her internal and external affairs in her own way, and I have no doubt that when Ceylon becomes free, she will take the necessary steps to become a Member of the International Labour Organisation in her own right. In this connection, I would like to thank Mr. Giri for the kind reference made to me and state that I share his belief that the differences between Ceylon and India can be very easily settled.

The I.L.O. deserves to be congratulated on the excellent reports which have been produced on the items on the agenda, and more particularly on those on which discussion is now taking place in this Conference. It is also encouraging to note that the services of the experts of the I.L.O. will always be available to Asian countries. Ceylon has already received such assistance, especially in connection with the recent work of our Commission on Social Services.

The problems that confront Ceylon in the economic sphere are, if I may say so, somewhat different from those which are now engaging the attention of China and India. Ceylon's problems are akin to those of Malaya, Burma and the Netherlands Indies. Industrialisation in Ceylon is negligible and the mainstay of its economy is the plantations of tea, rubber and coconut. Being mainly dependent on export markets for her primary products, she has little to fall back on when the prices of these commodities begin to fall. It is therefore essential that the producers of primary products in Eastern Asia should adopt uniform price and wage policies and combine to raise the standard of living over the region as a whole. Low wages in any of these countries are inimical to improvement of living standards everywhere in the region, especially in a world where market conditions imply competition. I note with pleasure that the Government delegation of India has proposed a resolution for securing a fair deal for countries exporting primary products.

Another problem of importance is the lack of capital equipment. With the aid of the specialised agencies of the United Nations, it will be possible to devise ways and means of providing capital for the under-developed countries, but without the implications of political control which such assistance has brought with it in the past. Capital formation

at home is also slow in its appeal to the peoples of the region, but this may be due to the fact that the bulk of the population in these countries is in chronic want.

It is therefore necessary that the economy of these countries, which depend on export markets for their produce and on imports for food, should be separately examined. A proper balance is necessary between subsistence agriculture on the one hand and plantation and industrial development on the other. In this structure it is also necessary to find a proper place for cottage industries, not only because they provide employment for large numbers, but also because they can be utilised to provide part-time employment for agriculturists and thus help to improve their living standards.

The impact of war has also brought about changes in the economy of these countries. Not being self-sufficient in food supplies, Ceylon has had to import most of the food she consumes from other countries at ever-increasing prices. On the other hand, Ceylon was not in a position to take full advantage of the world demand for her tea and rubber, because the prices of these articles were specifically determined by the metropolitan country, which had the control of shipping. In spite of these disadvantages an efficient system of rationing and price control was brought into operation during the war. This secured the equitable distribution of what was available and continues to do so.

Although "The Report on the Economic Background of Social Policy" is optimistic about the prospects of small countries which have no natural resources like coal and iron, provided they only have the will to utilise all the available resources to the best advantage, yet this will remain but a pious hope if the prices of the marketable commodities on which countries like Ceylon have to depend are subject to such violent fluctuations as in the past. The solution of the price problem, worked out in conjunction with the other specialised agencies of the United Nations, would appear to be the chief means of securing and maintaining an all-round improvement in living conditions in these countries. This is an urgent and vital problem.

There is next the all-important problem of population expansion. The rate of growth of population in Asian countries is alarming, and unless steps can be taken to increase production sufficiently to meet the demands of the growing population, the peoples of Asia will not be able to enjoy the benefits of improved methods of production.

Finally, a word of caution is necessary. The Director-General has enumerated the Conventions and Recommendations which have in some form or other been accepted and applied in varying degrees in different countries of Asia. I would commend to the Office the desirability of periodically surveying and publicising the action taken by these countries in regard to implementing what they have accepted. Until and unless all Asian countries, from the smallest to the largest, are able to demonstrate their sincerity in the practical application of what they have accepted, the ideals for the attainment of which this Organisation exists will have little chance of being realised.

ORDER OF WORK OF THE CONFERENCE

The PRESIDENT (Mr. CRESSON) — As members of the Conference are aware, it has a very heavy agenda before it. If the Conference is to conclude its business on the morning of Saturday, 8 November, as

arranged, the work will have to proceed rapidly. Accordingly, after consultation with the Officers of the Conference and of the Selection Committee, I propose: (1) that the committees should meet Saturday afternoon, 1 November; (2) that in the afternoon the committees should start work not later than 3 p.m. and should not rise earlier than 6 p.m.; and (3) that the list of speakers in the present general discussion on the Director-General's Report and the Report on item IV of the agenda—the Economic Background of Social Policy, including Problems of Industrialisation—should be closed at 12 noon tomorrow, Saturday, 1 November.

I would strongly recommend that these three proposals be adopted by the Conference in order to facilitate its success. It is essential that this Conference, the first of its kind, should set an example to future regional conferences in respect of the orderly and punctual conduct of business. I would appeal to the members of the Conference, and more especially to the members of the committees, to extend their co-operation to the fullest measure.

If there are no objections, I shall consider these proposals adopted.

(The proposals are adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)

SEVENTH SITTING

Saturday, 1 November 1947, 10.45 a.m.

President: Dr. Malik

RESOLUTION ON THE REGIONAL MEETING OF COUNTRIES OF THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — Before we start today's business I have much pleasure in moving the following resolution from the Chair :

“ This Conference has learnt with great satisfaction that a regional meeting of the countries of the Near and Middle East is to be held on 24 November at Istanbul and requests the Director-General of the International Labour Office to convey to the meeting the warmest good wishes of the Asian countries for the success of its deliberations.”

If there is no opposition, I shall declare the resolution adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND ITEM IV : DISCUSSION (*contd.*)

Mr. THIVY (*Special representative, Government delegation, India*) — I add my voice to all the others who have congratulated the International Labour Organisation on having at long last decided to come to this part of the world. I sincerely hope that the I.L.O. has come here to stay in the form of a permanent branch organisation for the East. I am sure we can all promise the I.L.O. plenty of work and possibly also plenty of headaches. The headaches will be caused by a number of factors, which possibly are not familiar to the West. For example, we have here cross-currents of interests which are made up of : (1) those who are fully conscious of the greatness of Asia, its ability and its strength ; (2) those of Asia who are still desirous of soft-peddling progressive movements ; (3) those from the West who are here for exploitation pure and simple ; and (4) those that represent Governments of metropolitan countries.

In this hotchpotch of divergent interests, the I.L.O. is sure to find each one of these interests giving apparently sound arguments why their particular appreciation of conditions here is the correct one and all others are wrong. Hence the headaches for the I.L.O. The I.L.O. will discover that representatives of metropolitan Powers who may speak objectively on economic affairs in the West will argue subjectively in the East. The I.L.O. will also find the many powerful organs of propaganda, such as journals, the press and the radio, giving plausible reasons why conditions should remain in effect as they are now, and thus drowning the voice of the

few exasperated representatives of the dumb millions who appeal for social justice.

The I.L.O. officials will be told that these labourers are nothing but *agitators*; but what are they agitating for? Today they want to be assured of two things. Firstly, sufficiency of food to give them the strength to produce the wealth of the land; and secondly, to be saved from the consequences, legal or otherwise, of the appellation "*agitators*". It is a well-known fact that the second World War has directly affected all the countries of Asia, most of them having been overrun by invading and retreating armies and having suffered the hardships consequent thereon. Today in these parts of Asia, which comprise the majority of the world population, the majority are toilers who have to produce food for the major part of the world as well as the raw materials for manufactures; yet they are without sufficiency in the primary necessities of life, *viz.*, food and raiment. None the less, every worker is called upon to do his duty to rehabilitate a world which has been devastated. The answer to this call appears to be strikes and more strikes.

The immediate problem, therefore, is how to get the worker to do his duty. The answer, to my mind, can be found in the answer to the question, how did we get the soldier to perform his duty during the war? It is a well-known truism that an army moves on its stomach. So, for the needs of the army during the war, Governments everywhere requisitioned food, clothing and other necessities and distributed them in such a manner as to ensure that there was no discontent among the soldiers when they were called upon to do their duty. Inasmuch as winning the war was the most important factor during wartime, winning the peace, which means rehabilitation, is the most important after a war. Every one of the countries has had practical experience of Governments requisitioning food and other necessary supplies for the benefit of armies stationed there. Such supplies were distributed either free or at cost price. For that matter, even today under peace conditions, armies are cared for on these lines.

Therefore, to my mind, the simplest way of settling the immediate labour troubles, and thereby proceeding apace with rehabilitation work, will be to treat workers as a peacetime army that needs care and protection. Unless this is done there can be no stability or recovery. Otherwise, what happens is this. The moment there is depression in the markets, there is a reduction in the wages of the workers. At the same time, merchants and others start hoarding, with the resultant black-marketing in essential commodities, which in turn means higher prices. Therefore, the workers, who form the largest number of the population, receive lower wages, with which they have to buy the necessities of life at higher prices. There can be nothing more unjust than this state of affairs for the poor workers in Asia, who have been born of generations that lived on insufficiency of food, who have just gone through some years of the greatest hardship and want as a result of the war, and who are now made a pawn in the vagaries of stock exchanges. This is the limit of human endurance. Therefore I would like to see some form of resolution emanating from this Conference which would urge upon all territories in Asia to reimpose governmental machinery for the requisitioning and selling of foodstuffs and other necessities at cost price to the workers. By adopting this method, not only will the many be served, but it will sound the death-knell of black-marketing and even of smuggling.

The other matter which requires the immediate attention of the I.L.O. is the study of the special laws that govern the rights and duties of labour

and an examination of the use made of the common law as sanctions for labour codes and trade union enactments. In making this study, it will be necessary for the I.L.O. to call for reports of cases that have been decided on the basis of these codes and enactments. The I.L.O. will have to ascertain whether one law gives freedom of association and action while another law in the same territory prevents it. Such anomalies do exist in some of the territories in Asia. Just a few days before the inaugural meeting of this Conference, a High Court decision was announced in one of the territories of Asia, whereby some labourers who had participated in a strike for three days were adjudged to have dismissed themselves from employment because the Labour Code maintains that if a worker continuously absents himself from work for one day, he breaks the terms of his agreement of employment and therefore he has no right to be re-employed. The effect of this judgment is that if a worker should go on strike, he is liable to dismiss himself from employment. Some legal opinions on this judgment are that it affects not only the daily paid employee but also the monthly paid employee. Again, in some territories the law of criminal trespass is a *direct impediment to the freedom of association*, as between office-bearers of trade unions who live outside private properties and workers who live inside private properties. For example, if X, an office-bearer of a labour union, should enter an estate to visit Y, a worker living there, X is liable to be prosecuted for criminal trespass. Furthermore, Y, who receives X, is liable to be dismissed, and if, after dismissal, he does not leave the estate labour lines within 24 hours, he is liable to be prosecuted for criminal trespass. This is usually followed by a spate of sympathetic strikes. So, it will readily be seen how the law of criminal trespass can be invoked to obstruct trade unionism.

Then again, the I.L.O. may have the impression that many countries in Asia have fulfilled some of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted from time to time by the International Labour Organisation. But the I.L.O. will have to scrutinise such laws and regulations very carefully, and also to examine legal decisions that will demonstrate how these laws and regulations are being interpreted, as for example, a Workmen's Compensation Act. The fact that such an Act exists may appear to be proof complete that an international labour Convention has been fulfilled. But I am aware of a workmen's compensation enactment in an Asian territory, which demands clear proof that partial or complete financial contributions were paid to legal dependants during the lifetime of a deceased workman, before compensation is considered payable to such dependants. That means to say, that a legal dependant is not *ipso facto* entitled to compensation.

The I.L.O. will also discover that there is discrimination in wages among employees in the same industry and performing the same kind of work. Such a state of affairs exists in some territories because the unfailing rule of equal pay for equal work with equal opportunity is not followed. This becomes a fruitful cause of inter-labour strife and discord.

These are some of the many problems which are peculiar to the East. I respectfully urge the International Labour Organisation, in which we have supreme confidence and which has by its very Constitution the greatest scope for full social service, to pull its weight on the international plane, and give succour to the teeming millions of Asian workers who have ungrudgingly kept the world going in the past and who now require to be rehabilitated themselves before they can help to rehabilitate the world.

Mr. CRESSON (*Employers' delegate, Singapore*) — Speaking on behalf of the employers of Singapore, I desire to express my appreciation and admiration of the work and ramifications of the International Labour Organisation. The gathering that we have here at this Conference clearly depicts the desire for co-operation and extension of goodwill towards the progress of the Asian worker. With the marching of time marches progress in our civilisation. More and more does man depend upon man, communities on communities and nations upon nations—such is the spirit of progress today. This circumstance of mutual dependence is an excellent foundation upon which to build fellowship, co-operation and goodwill between men in all walks of life. It is upon this foundation that I see the labours of this Conference bearing fruit—the fruit being the progress and betterment of conditions of all Asian workers. We find in our daily lives that each of us is served by thousands, and in turn each individual, by his personal effort and production, helps to serve thousands of other people. It is this spirit of service that we find increasing in the cosmopolitan population of the territory I have the honour to represent.

Singapore, strictly speaking, is of Malay origin ; it can be likened unto a magnet with powerful attractive powers. Hence its population represents practically every Asian race and creed, with a small sprinkling of other nations of the world, all living in neighbourly harmony with a spirit of goodwill common to all. In a total population of 850,000, the Chinese element in Singapore totals well over 650,000, while the Indian community takes the second place in numerical strength.

What is there, then, that attracts working peoples of these two great Asian countries to this Malaya Island of Singapore ? Conditions are well-balanced and over 40 of the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation have been put into practical effect. The labour policy of Singapore is such that a comparatively high standard of living is maintained, averaging probably the best in Asia. Unemployment does not exist, and social welfare activities have wide ramifications and are of a high standard. The economics of Singapore are well-balanced and while there is naturally inflation caused by shortages of supply due to the ravages of the last war, in the last few months the position has improved considerably and is continuing to improve. Inflation to the extent experienced in other Asian countries is unknown in Singapore. Food (other than rice, which is internationally allocated), textiles and other consumer goods are plentiful.

These are the conditions so necessary to achieve progress and prosperity, which are essential in order to raise the standard of living and the social status of our Asian peoples. To give you a concrete example of the progress of the worker in Singapore during the last two years, I would cite a recent flotation of a \$10 million shipping company, the shareholders of which are mainly workers and various Singapore trade unions. Two of the directors of this company are officials of the Singapore Federation of Labour Unions. This achievement on the part of our workers must be recognised as a sign of the progress being made in Singapore towards the welfare and advancement of Asian workers.

What could bring better mutual understanding between employers and workers than when *labour capitalises*.

We must all realise that *in order to live we must work*. To work is to progress, and to progress is to achieve prosperity for one's country and one's people. As an aftermath of the war, we find that mankind has developed the aptitude to do less and less work, despite the fact that expec-

tations are for a rising standard of living accompanied by better and better working conditions. This attitude is detrimental to progress and slows down production, which in turn means that the country and its people are less prosperous and therefore the expected improvements in standards of living are of necessity delayed. Let not this spirit of what I describe as the *passive sabotage of time* ingrain itself in the minds of our Asian peoples.

I suggest that on return to our various territories we spread this doctrine: *to live, we must work; to work is to progress; and to progress is to achieve prosperity*. With the achievement of prosperity comes the betterment of conditions for all mankind. We shall have gone a long way towards getting our feet on the ladder which we have all got to climb towards the higher levels that almost everybody in the world today, and in particular our Asian workers, wish to reach.

The emphasis in this objective is on co-operation. No Government, no employer and no group of workers can achieve much, working alone, isolating themselves, or fighting alone every inch of the way. That is the hard, the long and the most difficult way. *There must be give and take*.

I attach much importance to what I have called the *passive sabotage of time*. I would like to suggest that any measures that the International Labour Office can take in its widespread contacts with so many nations to hasten the cure of this insidious post-war disease, should be taken. And if when we leave this Conference the three groups—Government, workers and employers—have reached among themselves some degree of better understanding and sympathy with each other's viewpoint, the Conference will undoubtedly have achieved a great success, which will be of great value to all Asian peoples. I hope everyone present will do his best to make that possible, and that he will carry that spirit of understanding and of striving towards the common goal with him amongst his own people in his own territory. I wish the Conference and each member attending it the greatest success in the common effort of standardising and improving the conditions of employment of Asian people.

Mr. BHUPAVESA (*Government delegate, Siam*) — I feel it a great pleasure to attend the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. on behalf of my country and a great honour to have the opportunity of addressing this meeting.

Though the Siamese Government has sent only one delegate to the Conference, this does not mean that Siam lacks all interest in labour problems. In fact, Siam has long been a Member State of the International Labour Organisation, and her zealous desire, long felt, to improve the labour conditions and the standard of living of her workers, and to attain the standards laid down by the Conventions and Recommendations of the Organisation, has been enough evidence that the Government has not forgotten the welfare of the toiling masses. However, as the labour problems in Asian countries, especially in Siam, are just beginning to emerge, it will take some time before these aims can be achieved. It can be stated truly that during the pre-war years there was no labour problem in Siam at all. There were no organised strikes nor collective bargaining for the increase of wages or the betterment of labour conditions. After the second World War, however, the cost of living increased and the wages which the workers received lagged far behind and seemed to be below the bare level of subsistence. Thus started the labour problem, organised strikes and collective bargaining for better wages in Siam. The Govern-

ment could not turn a deaf ear to this, and a Labour Bureau was set up to handle all labour matters. With my experience I can affirm that the wages of the workers in some Asian countries are very low, and in some cases this is just a matter of exploitation. This, of course, does not happen where the employers have a certain degree of humanity and sympathise with their workers. It seems to me that in some business concerns the employers and workers are far apart in their attitude and opinions. That is why the International Labour Organisation must adopt Conventions and Recommendations regarding hours of work, minimum wages, workmen's compensation, etc., while the Governments must enact labour laws and enforce them in order to safeguard the welfare of the workers. I therefore wish to call the attention of this Conference to the following : besides laying down Recommendations and Conventions, the Organisation should work out some method of directly or indirectly drawing the attention of the employers to the need for adopting a more humanitarian attitude towards their own workers, giving them fair wages, treating them better and getting rid of the spirit of exploitation.

I am sure the co-operation of the I.L.O. along this line will help the Governments of the Member States and lead the employers to work with the Governments in a more co-operative spirit, instead of waiting for the Governments to bring pressure to bear upon them.

Though I am well aware of the fact that there are tripartite delegations to this Preparatory Asian Regional Conference and that the Employers' delegates, on their return, may adopt a more lenient attitude towards their workers, I am afraid that the conflict of interests is certain to stay, though in a varying degree. It has appeared to me that so far the I.L.O. has contacted only the Governments of the Member States, and nothing is done to get in touch with the employers or workers of such States in order to let them know of the Recommendations and Conventions adopted by the Organisation. It is true that the employers are represented by their delegates at the International Labour Conference, but when these delegates return to their country, it seems that they lose all further contacts with the Organisation. I therefore wish to emphasise this point and I do hope that the I.L.O., with its technical and experienced staff, will find some means of improving the labour conditions, the wages and social security, etc., of the workers of Asian countries, hand in hand with the Governments, the employers and the workers of the Member States, besides that of the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations. I feel quite sure that this co-operation between the Organisation and the Member States will bring concrete results.

Mr. M. A. KHAN (*Workers' adviser, Pakistan*) — Though our State has come into existence only recently, we have agreed in principle to accept all the Conventions and Recommendations ratified by the previous Government, and in future we want to do the same thing and to do our best to ratify all the decisions and recommendations of the International Labour Conference to the best of our ability. We have not many industries yet in Pakistan, but in the few industries we have, we will try to see that all the resolutions and recommendations of the Regional Conference are implemented to the best of the ability of the new State. I am myself no novice in the trade union movement. As a trade unionist of 27 years' standing who has opted for Pakistan, it is my duty to see that the Pakistan Government does its best to comply with the resolutions and recommendations of the International Labour Conference. Ours

is a country mostly of agricultural classes. The Asian Regional Labour Conference is going to look into the grievances of the agrarian people, and therefore it will be binding on us to see that the recommendations made in that connection are implemented in Pakistan. We have but a weak agrarian movement in our country at present, but it is bound to develop under the Pakistan régime.

I may say a few words about our Dominion. The Dominion of Pakistan, though it has separated from India as a free State, still looks to India for help in organising in times to come. There may be differences in outlook politically, but there are no differences so far as the economic outlook of the country is concerned. In the past we were united in the trade union movement, and we shall try to maintain that solidarity between our two countries by means of federation between the Indian and the Pakistan trade union movements. As the outlook of the international labour movement is international, we must also keep the international perspective of the movement in view for our future guidance. To my Indian friends I may give this assurance that the Pakistan Dominion is prepared to take a Socialist outlook, and the first duty of a Socialist State is to feed the workers and to feed the masses well. This, Pakistan can easily do because it is a producing country. So far as food is concerned, it will not have much difficulty. People, especially the Punjabis, cannot work well if they are not well fed, and more food is thus their greatest need. Therefore, the Government of Pakistan is bound to do its best so far as feeding is concerned. Even as regards the refugee problem, you will hear no complaint about feeding. We have had, for the last two months, lakhs and lakhs of refugees on the Pakistan border and there has not been a single complaint that the refugees have not been fed well in that area, because we have enough to feed them. Pakistan could easily implement the resolutions and recommendations relating to the welfare of the workers and peasants.

I can assure this meeting that the trade union movement, started about half a century ago, will meet with understanding in Pakistan. The Government has organised a Department of Labour, with experienced secretaries who are well-versed in the work of international conferences and in inter-Asian labour problems. At present we have an organised membership of about 15,000 on the roll of our trade union federation, and this number may well increase in course of time. At present the railways and port workers have the best organised trade unions in Pakistan, and they are well looked after by the departments concerned in the Government. The Government has given us an assurance that it will do whatever lies in its power to help the workers in the coming years and that they will not be overlooked or ignored in any way. I feel sure that Pakistan will abide by the resolutions and recommendations of the Conference and will in course of time implement them.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.15 p.m.)

EIGHTH SITTING

Monday, 3 November 1947, 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Pao

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND ITEM IV : DISCUSSION (*contd.*)

Mr. A. K. KHAN (*Employers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I should at the very outset thank and congratulate the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation for their very wise and bold decision to hold this first Asian Conference, which they as well as we hope will be the precursor of many of its kind. I should like to offer my sincere congratulations to the Director-General on the excellent and inspiring Report he has produced, and I wish he were present here to receive our felicitations. I must also thank the Chairman of the Governing Body, Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, for his sincere expression of goodwill to my country, which we deeply appreciate and reciprocate.

The welcome and joy in meeting you is mingled with a tinge of deep sorrow which we regret. Nevertheless, we may assure you of our wholehearted and sincere co-operation in making this Conference a complete success. We who have lived in peace and amity for nearly a thousand years will, we hope and believe, with the goodwill and determination of our leaders and people in both the States, soon settle down to the pursuit of the arts of peace and happiness and forget this nightmare of agony and distress. Our hopes are high, our ambitions great. We thank Providence that the dark night of political and economic domination through which we in Asian countries have been groping for the last few centuries has at last broken into the dawn of political emancipation for most of us. We hope that in future we shall play an ever-increasing and effective role in all international organisations as free and equal partners with other nations of the world. We are all agreed that without a planned economy, based on social security and justice, our political emancipation will bear no fruit. But our own outlook, as well as our problems relating to the distribution of wealth in our own community, are somewhat different from those of some of our neighbours. Our religion and our laws of inheritance aim at an equitable distribution of wealth and incline towards socialism. Unlike many industrialised countries of the West, our main problem is not one of adjusting the conflicting claims of capital and labour : it is rather one of bringing capital and labour together in an atmosphere of goodwill and co-operation in order to make the fullest use of the raw materials at our disposal, with a view to raising the standard of living of our vast population.

We in East Bengal are faced with the paradox of our soil being very

rich and our people remaining very poor. The density of the population and the consequent burden on land is one of the heaviest in the world. There we grow about 80 per cent. of the world's jute—I mean, raw jute—but we have not a single jute mill in the whole area. In western Pakistan we grow more than one million bales of the finest cotton, but we have just two small textile mills, which are totally inadequate for our needs. There are various other raw materials and mineral wealth, but we lack the plants, the machinery and the technical skill to make the fullest use of these resources which Nature has provided for us.

I note with deep gratification the remarks of the Director-General to the effect that "there is little hope for the development of economically underdeveloped areas of the world except with the aid of capital resources and technical skill available from the more developed areas". I hope this Conference will stress the point in its deliberations. Again, as according to the famous Declaration of Philadelphia, "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger—I should say, real danger—to prosperity everywhere", it is the duty of the more prosperous and highly industrialised countries of the world, and especially of that great and prosperous country, the United States of America—which is considered to be the main prop of democracy—to come to the help of undeveloped countries of the East, and to place their material resources and technical skill at the disposal of these countries, with a view to increasing the production of goods of all kinds, so that there may be enough for all and each of us.

Our ideology and our objectives are the same. We in the Asian countries which are represented here are determined to uphold democratic institutions all round and, if need be, we shall defend those institutions to the best of our ability. But we can do little if we do not grow in strength. We have got manpower, we have got raw materials. Give us your modern tools and machinery, give us your technical skill and financial assistance, and see what we can do to rally our forces for establishing lasting peace and prosperity in the world on the basis of democratic institutions.

We are convinced that the two—I mean peace and prosperity—must go together. The four freedoms contemplated in the famous Atlantic Charter, which raised such high hopes in those dark days, should not be allowed to remain a mere expression of a pious wish. Humanity is at the crossroads. There is no time to hesitate, no time to look back. I am certain that the world is capable of producing enough to maintain its total population in all parts on a reasonable standard of living. Why then so much poverty, so much hunger, nakedness and disease, which for certain are the root causes of discontent and war? Surely something is wrong somewhere. Let the leaders of the nations ponder over it and take effective steps before it is too late.

Now, referring to the Director-General's Report and the very useful and instructive monograph "The Economic Background of Social Policy", I would only lightly touch upon the main problems confronting this part of the world, as previous speakers have dealt with them in detail. As the population in all Asian countries is predominantly rural, with agriculture as the main occupation, we must not for a moment lose sight of the agricultural background while devising ways and means of providing for the social security of our peoples. Agriculture has been throughout the ages their main occupation and will remain so in future. We must concentrate on increasing the agricultural production by the extensive use of modern tools and machinery and fertilisers. At the same

time we must organise the co-operative marketing of agricultural products so that the primary producer gets a fair deal. Our cultivators are still using the ploughs and implements which were in use in prehistoric and Vedic ages. Along with the establishment of modern factories and mills for large-scale production, we must develop extensively cottage industries to provide employment for our agricultural labour for about six months in the year. In this connection the I.L.O. can help us a great deal by tabulating all the information bearing on cottage and domestic industries in different parts of the world. The question of providing cheap power in rural areas for the development of cottage and domestic industries must engage the serious attention of our different Governments.

We have our peculiar problems of labour which call for special remedies. We cannot just copy the methods and measures adopted in the West, without due consideration of our own perspective. We shall no doubt profit by the experience of Western countries and the mistakes made by them in the course of their industrial development, and shall try to avoid those pitfalls. But at the same time we shall have to chalk out many new paths and devise new remedies for solving the problems peculiar to us. In this respect the International Labour Organisation can render us very great service by providing us with the necessary statistics, information and guidance. We feel sure that the International Labour Organisation will ungrudgingly place its services and technical staff at our disposal for the amelioration of labour conditions in Asian countries, as otherwise it would not have gone to the length of holding an Asian regional conference. Speaking on behalf of the employers of my country, I may say here and now that the International Labour Organisation will not find us lagging behind other Asian employers in implementing any of its Conventions, Recommendations and resolutions. The same assurance has been given on behalf of our Government by the leader of our delegation, who is also our Government's spokesman here.

In conclusion, I hope and pray that with goodwill, determination and, above all, imagination on the part of Governments, employers' and workers' representatives, we shall succeed in devising ways of avoiding conflicts and of concentrating on the vital problem of production in a healthy and happy atmosphere of peace and contentment. May God give us wisdom, courage and understanding, so that we may sincerely try to appreciate, accommodate and adjust each other's points of view in a spirit of give and take.

Mr. HOUGHTON (*Government delegate, Malayan Union*) — This is the first occasion on which the Malayan Union has been invited to participate in an I.L.O. Conference and I agree with the Director-General when he emphasises that regional conferences such as this tend to make the potentialities for service of the I.L.O. better known to the peoples of the various regions of the world and eliminate the feeling that it is an organisation which operates in remote isolation.

The Malayan Union, which I have the honour to represent, is in many ways one of the more fortunate countries in Asia. The States and Settlements within the Union are mainly peopled by Malays, Chinese and Indians, all of whom mix freely and happily together, and racial strife is virtually unknown.

A striking feature of the Malayan Union economy is its dependence on exports of rubber and tin, and, to a less extent, coconut oil and palm

oil, to finance essential imports, particularly rice, which is the staple food of the bulk of the population of the country. The Malayan Union's prosperity and the real wages of the workers depend to a large extent on the relative prices of its exports and imports. Unfortunately, in common with other rice-eating countries, Malaya suffers from a shortage of its basic foodstuff, and the price it has to pay for its imports of rice is over five times the pre-war figure, while the price it receives for its rubber is a fraction above the 1939 level. A pound of rubber in 1947 will buy less than a fifth of the rice, a quarter of the flour, one half of the milk, one fifth of the sugar or one sixth of the textiles it bought before the war. The other main export, tin, has about doubled in price, but production is at present below the pre-war level, owing to the large-scale destruction of equipment which took place as a result of the occupation of Malaya by the Japanese.

Considerable progress has been made in the rehabilitation of the country. The current production of rubber is higher than at any time in Malaya's history, and in spite of the shortage of equipment and fuel, it is anticipated that the output of tin will reach a reasonably high level next year. There is no unemployment in Malaya. Abundant opportunities are available for everyone willing and capable of working. Since the liberation, wages have increased considerably, but the fundamental economic facts already pointed out have set a ceiling to the improvement in the workers' wages. The national income of the country, measured in terms of its main imports, is lower than before the war, but the Government has accepted the basic principle that it is better to impose discomfort than real hardship, and the wages of the lowest-paid workers have been increased to a very much greater extent than those of the higher-paid wage and salary earners.

It is, however, essential to underline the fact that the fundamental problem of increasing the standard of living of the workers cannot be solved simply by increasing monetary wages. A square deal for the workers involves a square deal from the workers. In considerable areas of the world today we are witnessing large groups of the population endeavouring to pursue the mirage of higher standards of living with a lower output. That way lies inflation and unemployment, not progress.

In the field of social welfare, the Union has now passed the stage of dealing with the distress following the Japanese occupation and it is largely concerned with the care of special classes of the population. The Department of Social Welfare has its homes for the aged and for orphans. Through its State officers it ensures that no person, irrespective of race or creed, is in dire need of food, clothing or shelter. There is now no area in the Malayan Union which is not covered by welfare officers, one of whom has the special duty of caring for the aborigines. Associated with the Department of Social Welfare is a very effective group of voluntary organisations.

A Co-operative Societies Enactment has been in force since 1922. The object of this was to develop a habit of thrift, and it is to this end that the societies have directed their energies. There are now over 700 registered co-operative societies, of which about 400 are among Indian labourers and over 200 among Malay agriculturists. The savings of the 42,750 members of the labourers' co-operative societies amount to over \$1,673,000. The total savings in the form of share capital and the deposits of the 91,400 members of all societies exceeded 8¼ million dollars, of which only 1¾ million dollars were out on loan. The Government has

never at any time lent or given any money to a co-operative society. The funds of the societies have been built up entirely out of the thrift of their members.

The climate of Malaya is fairly healthy, but monotonously warm and with a high humidity. The average temperature is 85°F. and the rainfall 100 inches a year. The birth rate is 41.6 per 1,000, the death rate 19.3 per 1,000. The infantile mortality for all races is 102 per 1,000. These figures indicate a state of health which compares not unfavourably with other parts of Asia. Public health services have always been well advanced. The high malarial risk in many parts of the country, especially during the development stage, made it essential to evolve efficient methods of malaria control. Without them the country could not have prospered as it has done. Malaya's malaria research work and anti-malarial schemes are well known far beyond the borders of our territory.

Hospital and dispensary services are developed to a considerable extent. In spite of the loss and damage caused by the Japanese occupation, there are now 65 hospitals for general diseases, staffed and equipped by the Government, with a total of 13,500 beds and an annual turnover of a quarter of a million patients. In addition, there are 2,500 beds for lepers, 2,000 for mental diseases, and 157 plantation hospitals with a total of 6,500 beds. There are, therefore, a total of nearly 25,000 hospital beds, staffed and equipped, an all-in provision of nearly 5 per 1,000 of the population. Our patients' attendances at hospitals and dispensaries amounted to 2¼ million in 1946, and of these, 600,000 attendances were at motor-travelling and river-boat dispensaries. Research work has been given its due place in the activities of the Government's medical services, and in regard to malaria and tropical typhus, particularly, it has taken a leading place.

Particular attention is paid to maternity and child welfare. Maternity benefit, at a rate equivalent to two months' pay, has been paid by employers on estates and certain other industrial undertakings for the past thirty years. Maternity hospitals, which are almost entirely supported by the State, had a yearly turnover of nearly 20,000 births, which is one ninth of the total births in the Union. This figure does not include births in the numerous estate hospitals. Child welfare work has received close attention, and attendance at child centres numbered 320,000 in 1946. In addition, 112,000 mothers and children were visited in their homes.

The Malayan Union is to have a new Constitution in the very near future, which will be a distinct step towards self-government for the people, who regard Malaya as their home and the object of their loyalty.

We welcome this Preparatory Asian Conference, whose principal aim and objective is to secure a steady improvement in the general standard of living of all Asian peoples. Countries which lag behind in this respect are a menace to progress by the more advanced countries. The idea of drawing up a programme of action for the enforcement of social standards embodied in international labour Recommendations and Conventions which have not yet been ratified or accepted is one which must commend itself to all countries participating in this Conference.

Mr. GAVIN (*Employers' delegate, United Kingdom*) — The Director-General in his Report to this first Preparatory Asian Regional Conference has referred to the fact that Sir John Forbes Watson, for so many years United Kingdom Employers' delegate to the International Labour Confe-

rence and a member of the I.L.O. Governing Body, characterised the decision to hold this Conference as the most important initiative that the International Labour Organisation has taken in its history. It would be unfitting, therefore, if I, as United Kingdom Employers' delegate, on this historic occasion did not personally endorse his view and at the same time express his regrets that his preoccupations in connection with the economic crisis in Great Britain prevent him from being in New Delhi at this time. My delegation, representing as it does those British territories in this region not separately represented in the Conference—from Hong Kong in the north to Fiji in the south—welcomes this meeting as one more step in Asian collaboration, one more move towards mutual understanding and true fellowship, by which alone the vast problems of the area can be solved.

The employers in these territories, particularly larger employers, have no mean record in the matter of measures taken to achieve the things envisaged by the resolutions before the Conference as regards social welfare and hygiene and general improvement of working conditions; and they are in full sympathy with the efforts being made here to secure generally throughout the area, first by international agreement and following thereon by national action, minimum standards, which they fully realise must sometimes fall short of those which they themselves have voluntarily applied. They recognise that this Conference, organised as it is on the tripartite basis, assumes the arrival throughout the Asian scene—with the likelihood of staying there—of trade unions, democratically led and properly administered. They recognise that the benevolent paternalism which they have practised for so long and with such successful practical results may at times fit uneasily into the pattern of full industrial democracy thus being provided for. Nevertheless, they are prepared, in their efforts to secure peaceful adaptation to the new conditions, to contribute to the common pool patience, tolerance, fairness and understanding, qualities which they hope will be forthcoming in equal measure from those with whom they have to deal.

Interpretation: Mr. PENN (*Government delegate, Cambodia*): My country deems it an honour to take part in the deliberations of this important Conference, which will be of capital significance for social peace if the Governments concerned succeed in giving practical effect to the resolutions we adopt. My sovereign and Government have long taken the deepest interest in social progress. We are doing what is within our power to secure a decent standard of living and education for our population. We have striven to develop public services in the fields of education and health, social welfare and rural economy.

We accept, in the main, the principles laid down in the reports prepared for the Conference by the I.L.O., but we must make certain reservations with regard to particular aspects of them, and very particularly with regard to social security. Our country is essentially an agricultural one. We have very few wage earners; most of our people are agricultural smallholders. The situation is perhaps different in the case of the rubber plantations, where there are a large number of wage-paid workers, mostly immigrants. But our population in general is individualistic and bound by tradition, and we have therefore thought it necessary to rely in the first place on Government organisation. In 1946 two steps were taken: on the one hand, we set up a Rural Economy Service to co-ordinate existing institutions; and on the other, we established a

Social Medical Hygiene Institute. The development of these two institutions will no doubt be aided by the exchange of views at this Conference.

The technical aspects of social progress are of special importance in Cambodia, where large areas are still uncultivated and there is much to be done in the way of developing the soil and improving fertilisation. We have undertaken extensive hydro-electric work in recent years, but more is needed and we have included the necessary schemes in our economic development plan.

The poorer inhabitants of the country, and indeed some of the middle-class people, suffer from continual indebtedness. They tend to pledge in advance the whole or part of their harvest and then find themselves unable to clear off their debts if the harvests are unsatisfactory. Some fifteen years ago the Government started to deal with this problem by establishing agricultural credit banks, which lend at low rates of interest to the farmers, so that they need not have recourse to usurers. These banks have had some measure of success, but the formalities for obtaining a loan are a deterrent to the farmer, besides which the usurer lives in the village whereas the credit bank is situated at a distance, with the result that the farmer does not take the trouble to go there. We are trying to overcome these difficulties. Cambodia is therefore inclined to favour the various suggestions put forward by the International Labour Organisation with regard to co-operative marketing, purchasing and consumers' societies, and steps are already being taken in order to develop the co-operative movement in agriculture. It may be added that there are already several societies in existence, especially among weavers and freshwater fishermen.

It is also necessary for us to develop education so as to raise the intellectual standard of our population. We have already set up a certain number of schools of different grades, but there is room for further development in this direction. We devote a considerable amount of our attention to the development of medical service, and here certain progress has been made.

As in any other country, general social progress in Cambodia depends on financial and economic resources. Therefore, while we accept the principles laid down in certain of the international labour Conventions, we feel that for their practical application time will be needed, and that we will have to proceed by stages. As the representative of the Government of Cambodia I would like to express my sincere wishes for the complete success of this Conference in raising the conditions of life and work of the populations of Asia.

Interpretation: Mr. SILVANDRE (*Government delegate, France*): The Government delegates of the French Union have studied with close attention the remarkable report prepared by the International Labour Office on "The Economic Background of Social Policy" and have followed with keen interest the course of the general discussion. I desire to speak more particularly of the concrete economic problems the solution of which is a prerequisite for the solution of social problems in the various territories of the French Union, and especially in Indo-China.

Five years of war have engendered serious social problems in France and in other parts of the French Union. Study of these problems suggests that improvement of the lot of the workers in the Asian territories of the French Union is dependent on an increase in the income of the rural

population, which represents 90 per cent. of the total population, on the solution of the problem of full employment of the rural population and on an increase in the amount of consumer goods made available.

The fundamental question is one of manpower. While in certain areas, for instance, in Cambodia and Laos, there is no surplus agricultural manpower, elsewhere, notably throughout Annam and in the Tonkin Delta, underemployment of agricultural workers constitutes an acute problem. Statistics show that in 1939, 6 million agricultural employees were employed in Tonkin upon work which could have been done by 1½ million. It does not follow that there were three unemployed persons for every worker. Almost all were employed, but only intermittently. The same situation obtained in north Annam and along the narrow coastal plains of central and south Annam. In Cochinchina, too, there is a considerable wastage of manpower. The first consequence of this chronic underemployment is naturally widespread poverty among the peasant population, and it has become an imperative necessity to transfer a part of the agricultural population to other categories of work.

This, briefly, is the demographic problem in Indo-China for which solutions have to be found. There is at present a surplus of about 7 million inhabitants in the agricultural areas, and it is expected that this surplus will rise in the near future to 8 or 9 million. Nevertheless we expect that within a period of ten years the problem of inadequate food supplies will have been largely eliminated. Various technical measures are envisaged with a view to the achievement of this objective: research work, training, the fitting out of technical services for propaganda and an instruction campaign, the improvement of general machinery and equipment and the development of communications. Financial resources will have to be allocated to cover a wide range of activities, such as seed selection, purchase of fertilisers, distribution of equipment, struggle against usury, acquisition of agricultural machinery, and land improvements. These economic measures must be accompanied by measures of a political and social order, such as codification of the relations between landlords and tenant farmers, measures to enable tenant farmers and agricultural workers to acquire property, and organisation on a voluntary basis of the migration of surplus agricultural populations towards new areas of development. Finally, the development of small crafts and industries is to be encouraged. The relative stabilisation of prices through co-operative marketing and a sound agricultural credit system are also needed.

As regards the problem of full employment, the natural resources of the country are in many cases located in the densely populated areas and their exploitation can absorb some of the surplus manpower. The real solution, however, is to be sought in the creation and development of small industries.

The workers need to be protected against abuses of the economic system. The yield of certain taxes should be earmarked for the expansion and improvement of social services. To raise the standard of living, the supply of consumers' goods must be increased. Rational industrialisation will lead to increased production and an expanded export trade, and thus provide the means of importing the additional supplies required. I may mention that at the recent International Trade Conference in Geneva, France was in favour of moderate protectionism. In Indo-China, the régime is one of non-discrimination.

In conclusion, I would add that the French Government would welcome the creation of institutions for facilitating the exchange of in-

formation on population, industry, agriculture, national income, etc. We would also favour the establishment of an international institute of economic and demographic statistics. The present Conference is showing in striking fashion the value of these international contacts between Governments, employers and workers.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — The general discussion on the Report of the Director-General is now closed.

ADMISSION OF PAKISTAN AS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — I now call upon the Secretary-General to make an announcement on the accession of Pakistan to the International Labour Organisation.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — The Director-General of the International Labour Office has asked me to inform the Conference that he has received the following communication from the Foreign Secretary of the Government of Pakistan :

“ I have the honour to inform you, on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, that Pakistan hereby formally accepts the obligations of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the Organisation and solemnly undertakes fully and faithfully to perform each and every one of the provisions thereof.

“ I also have the honour to inform you that Pakistan accepts the provisions of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation Instrument of Amendment, 1946.

“ I am to state that the Government of Pakistan recognises that the obligations resulting from the international labour Conventions ratified by India prior to 15 August 1947 continue to be binding upon Pakistan in accordance with the terms thereof. ”

In accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the Organisation, Pakistan became a Member of the Organisation on 31 October 1947, the date of the receipt of this communication. I am confident that the Conference will be unanimous in welcoming Pakistan as an independent member of the Organisation.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government representative of the Governing Body*) — I am sure that everyone present here was pleased to hear the announcement which has just been made by the Secretary-General. The State which we used to know as India, and which in future we shall know as the two States of India and Pakistan, was an original Member of this Organisation and it contributed greatly both to the deliberations of this Organisation and to the success which has followed the efforts of the Organisation to promote social progress throughout the world. With the division of India into two States, the future State of India succeeded to the position in the Organisation formerly held by the one State of India, and a lot of questions were raised, such as are dear to the hearts of people who indulge in legalistic discussions, regarding the

position of Pakistan. But so far as this Organisation was concerned, all that it wanted was that there should be no break in the continuity of membership between the old India and the two new States. All that it wanted was that Pakistan should assume at the earliest possible date the membership which it has now taken up. In welcoming that decision and in welcoming Pakistan to full and independent membership of this Organisation, we will all pray that Pakistan's association with the Organisation will be long and will be a happy and fruitful one both for Pakistan, for the International Labour Organisation and for the peoples of the world.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — I am sure that the Conference has heard the news with very great pleasure—the news that Pakistan has become a Member of our Organisation. I am proud to welcome Pakistan as a Member and on your behalf to express the conviction that Pakistan will play a part of great value and that the Organisation in its turn will be of real service to Pakistan.

Mr. HUSAIN (*Government delegate, Pakistan*) — It is an occasion of real pride and satisfaction for us to see that Pakistan is now a full and independent Member of this great Organisation. On behalf of my country, I deeply appreciate the cordial welcome extended to us by the Chairman of the Governing Body and by you, Mr. President. I wish to assure the International Labour Organisation that we shall always value our membership and do all that is within our means and capacity to prove ourselves worthy of it.

As you are aware, our country has given a solemn pledge that all the Conventions ratified by undivided India before 15 August 1947 will be fully and scrupulously honoured. I wish to repeat on this occasion that our Labour Code is in every respect the same as that of India. We are determined to observe its provisions in all respects. Our difficulties in the social and economic spheres are likely to be great in the future, but we are resolved to surmount them and do everything within our power to improve the living conditions of the working classes. We will do our utmost not to remain behind other countries in implementing the decisions which the International Labour Organisation might make in the discharge of its high duties towards the working classes. It is our intention to make our full contribution to the work of the Organisation, and I am glad to inform the Conference that our Government has decided to send an observer delegation to the I.L.O. Middle East Conference at Istanbul, which is to be held shortly.

I again thank the Chairman of the Governing Body and the President of this Conference for the welcome they have given to my country.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.15 p.m.)

NINTH SITTING

Wednesday, 5 November 1947, 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Jagjivan Ram

THIRD REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT — We shall now consider the third report of the Selection Committee.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — I have the honour to submit the third report of the Selection Committee.

The Selection Committee held its fourth sitting at 5.30 p.m. on 31 October, its fifth sitting on 3 November 12 noon, and its sixth and seventh sittings at 9 a.m. and 5.30 p.m. respectively on 4 November.

The Committee unanimously adopted the following proposed resolutions, which it transmits to the Conference for approval:

- (1) Proposed resolution concerning the intensification of the Asian work of the International Labour Organisation;
- (2) Proposed resolution concerning labour standards in Japan;
- (3) Proposed resolution concerning tripartite organisations and other appropriate arrangements;
- (4) Proposed resolution concerning increased production;
- (5) Proposed resolution concerning seafarers.

Proposed resolution concerning the intensification of the Asian work of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Selection Committee.

Mr. LALL (*Government adviser, India*), *Chairman of the Selection Committee* — As the Chairman of the Selection Committee, it falls upon me to introduce this composite resolution, based on three proposed resolutions submitted by the Government delegates of India, one by the Workers' delegate of India, one by Mr. Pao, Chinese Government delegate, and one by the Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates of Laos.

We attach great importance to this resolution because it seeks to remedy a defect in the International Labour Organisation to which many of the delegates have already drawn the attention of the Conference. In

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix II (4)*, pp. 197-200.

the past, Asian problems have received very scant consideration by the International Labour Conference. This is not entirely the fault of the International Labour Organisation, because Asian countries have been slow to come forward and to take their proper place in the Organisation. Nevertheless, it is true that our special problems have not been studied in the same detail as the problems of Europe and America.

This resolution contains our minimum demands. In saying this I do not wish to convey a hitlerite threat to the International Labour Organisation, because these demands have been recognised as reasonable by the Chairman of the Governing Body and by the Governing Body delegation to the Conference. In this connection I should like to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Governing Body for the assistance which he has given in the drafting of this resolution. He has throughout shown a desire to understand our problems and our demands and to see how best they can be met. I am sure all the members of the Selection Committee will join with me in this tribute.

The resolution is divided into four parts. In Part I we are making it clear that this Conference is not to be the only one of its kind. It is proposed to hold an Asian regional conference in China in 1949, and I hope there will be a regular series of such conferences in future. In addition, we are asking the International Labour Organisation to conduct meetings of technical experts from Asian countries and also to hold meetings of the International Conference, the Governing Body, the Permanent Agri-cultural Committee and other committees in Asian countries. Hitherto, all these conferences and meetings have been held either in Europe or in America. We are also asking for adequate representation on technical committees and on the staff of the Office. As regards the latter point, I should like to add that the Director-General and Mr. Rens, the Secretary-General of this Conference, are, I know, both interested in making the staff of the International Labour Office as fully international as possible, and I feel sure that as time passes we shall see more and more Asians on the staff. In labour matters Asian countries will need a good deal of assistance from technical experts, and provision has been made for this assistance to be given by the I.L.O. Another matter to which we attach great importance is the publication of important I.L.O. publications in Asian languages, so that the workers in Asia may be able to study them. It is also proposed that the I.L.O. should set up an Asian advisory committee with a co-ordinating secretariat. These are important steps which will help Asian countries to progress towards the goal of social security, which is embodied in our Constitution.

Part II of the resolution is important inasmuch as it indicates the desire of the Conference that all Asian countries should become Members of the International Labour Organisation. The Organisation is not an exclusive club, in which membership is open to the few. By the very terms of our Charter we should be all-embracing and should welcome all countries to join the Organisation.

Part III refers to non-metropolitan territories and to Indian States, whose co-operation and collaboration we also desire.

Finally, Part IV of the resolution emphasises the fact that everything possible should be done to help all Members of the Organisation to send tripartite delegations to the Conference. The Indian Government resolution suggested that the cost of sending delegations should be pooled by all the State Members of the Conference, but it was not thought desirable to press this particular suggestion on the Governing Body but to

leave it to them to examine the whole question in all its bearings and to find out how regular tripartite attendance from all countries can best be facilitated. With these words I commend the resolution to the Conference.

The PRESIDENT — Proposed resolution No. 1 is open for discussion.

Mr. JOSHI (*Workers' representative of the Governing Body*) — I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been placed before you by the Chairman of the Selection Committee.

You know the object of holding this present Asian Regional Labour Conference was to strengthen the influence of the International Labour Organisation in Asian regions. Those of us who advocated the holding of such a regional conference were anxious that the influence of the International Labour Organisation should reach all corners of the world equally. You know that the very holding of this regional conference has brought the International Labour Organisation much closer to the Asian region than it had ever done before. We have in our midst delegates from Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, and various other parts such as Java and Malaya. We have also in our midst representatives of Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain and the Netherlands. Now some of these countries had come into contact with the Organisation before. Some of the individuals whom we see here had also come into contact with the I.L.O. before. But there are a large number of countries represented at this Conference, and a large number of individuals at this Conference, who were never present at the conferences or committee meetings held by the I.L.O. We therefore have achieved already to some extent the object of holding regional conferences. The contact between the I.L.O. and the Asiatic region has increased. What we are anxious to do by this resolution is to continue this work of creating larger and better contact between the I.L.O. and the Asian region. We first suggest that this Conference which is being held in New Delhi should be a first conference. This is a Preparatory Conference; the First Conference proper will be held somewhere in China. We want the regional conferences to be continued year after year. For the present we have decided to hold a conference in 1949; but it is quite possible that a time will come when we shall feel the need of holding these conferences annually.

The resolution does not propose that we should merely be content with the holding of these conferences; it proposes further that the contact between the International Labour Organisation and the Asiatic regions should be strengthened by the holding of other meetings in connection with the work of this Conference and in connection with the work of the Organisation. This is the first part of the usefulness of the regional conferences, and this is the first way of increasing the contact between the I.L.O. and Asiatic regions.

But we are not going to be content with that. What we want is that the International Labour Organisation should not confine itself to holding its general conferences in Europe or in America. We want the International Labour Organisation to be a universal organisation. We are therefore anxious to suggest to the Governing Body that it should consider the holding of the general international conferences sometimes in Asia. We also propose to request the Governing Body to hold meetings of the Governing Body sometimes in Asia. You all know that the International Labour Conference is not now confined to Geneva. It is being held next year in San Francisco; it has been held in Montreal and Phila-

delphia. We therefore suggest to the Governing Body that the General Conference itself should be held occasionally here in Asia. Similarly, the Governing Body also does not always meet in Geneva or Montreal. I know that the Governing Body has met before in other cities of Europe and also elsewhere. We therefore suggest to the Governing Body that the meetings of the Governing Body and other similar bodies should be held from time to time in Asian regions. We want the International Labour Organisation to cease to be either European or American. We want the International Labour Organisation to be a world organisation, truly and really; and that can happen only if the General Conference, the meetings of the Governing Body and other meetings are held from time to time in centres in all the different parts of the world.

Then, if the work in the Asian regions is to be properly done, properly organised, we shall require a strong office—a part or a branch of the International Labour Office—to be located in these regions. It is true that on account of air travel the distances are made shorter. But still the factor of distance is not entirely eliminated, and therefore we are anxious that the International Labour Office should have a strong branch or strong branches in Asian regions. The resolution has proposed that the branch at Delhi and the branch at Shanghai should be strengthened. The resolution has also proposed that there should be a co-ordinating office somewhere in Asia. I would like these branches to be strengthened, and I would like also the co-ordinating office to be set up, so that the work of the International Labour Office will be done from the Asian regions themselves.

There is one more point on which I shall touch now, and that point is that if the work in Asian regions is to be done by conferences and by the branches of the International Labour Office, there must be some body which will look after this work, not only from the point of view of the Asian regions, but which will also be in full contact with the Asian regions. Therefore the resolution has proposed that an advisory body should be set up for supervising and co-ordinating the work of the International Labour Organisation to be done in Asian regions. What exactly should be the form of this advisory body is not stated in this resolution. So far as I am personally concerned, I would like the advisory body to function in one of the Asian cities, so that the work of this body may be conducted in touch with the people and the Governments and the employers and the workers in Asian regions. These are some of the proposals made in this resolution. I have no doubt in my mind that if these proposals are given effect, the contact between the International Labour Organisation and the Asian regions will be strengthened and the object for which the International Labour Organisation was established will be more fully achieved.

I hope you will pass this resolution.

Mr. PAO (*Government delegate, China*) — The Chinese Government delegation attaches the highest importance to the resolution concerning the intensification of the Asian work of the International Labour Organisation. This resolution represents the first attempt ever made by this Organisation to lay down clearly and systematically a minimum programme of regional action in Asia which this Organisation must undertake without any delay if it is to meet the special circumstances and problems of the Asian countries. And such an attempt, if I may say so, has been long overdue. The adoption of this resolution would therefore not only be the crowning achievement of this Preparatory Asian Regional Conference;

it would indeed be a landmark in the history of the International Labour Organisation. For this resolution gives to the common man of Asia concrete evidence that the social objectives of our Organisation are not merely empty words but are tangible realities.

I have pleasure and satisfaction in supporting this resolution. But I have to make myself clear. I support this resolution, not because it contains all we want, but because it represents the minimum which we could secure unanimously in the Selection Committee. I would like the Governing Body to take immediate action to put this resolution into effect.

In conclusion, I take the liberty to associate myself with the Chairman of the Selection Committee in paying a tribute to Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans.

Mr. ASLAM (*Government delegate, Pakistan*) — Sir, I consider it a proud privilege to speak under your chairmanship in support of Mr. Lall. We are not starting from scratch in Pakistan; we are carrying on the work which we started here, and we have a direction from our Government that we should not lag behind any Asian country in our march of progress in the field of labour. With these few words I support the resolution.

The PRESIDENT — We shall now put resolution No. 1 to the vote. If there are no objections, I shall declare the resolution adopted.

(The resolution is unanimously adopted.)

The PRESIDENT — Resolutions Nos. 2 to 5 will be formally moved before the Conference. I will once more invite the delegates who want to speak on these resolutions to give their names to the Clerk of the Conference.

Proposed resolution concerning labour standards in Japan, submitted by the Selection Committee.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — In placing this resolution on labour standards in Japan before the Conference, I am sure all members present here will agree that something has to be done in the present special circumstances in which Japan is placed to keep alive the standards that have been set up by the International Labour Organisation, and also to maintain standards elsewhere in the Asian region. I am sure that the steps proposed—the communication of the decisions of this Conference through the appropriate channels to Japan, the sending of a fact-finding mission to Japan and the obtaining of regular annual reports on the application of international labour Conventions—will facilitate the early readmission of Japan to the Organisation and allay the fears of her neighbour China.

Interpretation: Mr. LIANG (*Workers' adviser, China*): A draft resolution on this subject was tabled by the Workers' delegate, China, Mr. Liu Sun-san, on whose behalf I speak. China and Japan are two very closely related countries, and although in the past Japan's attitude towards China was one of aggression, China has all along been liberal in her policy towards Japan. We labourers in China are very much concerned

about the present labour conditions existing in Japan. We understand that labourers in Japan are working very long hours, as many as 12 to 14 hours a day, and that their purchasing power has been greatly diminished. Their purchasing power is now only about 70 per cent. of the pre-war level, and the Japanese Government is inducing the workers to work long hours and pays much lower wages. The labour conditions in Japan are far from satisfactory at present. We all know that Japan in the past was a country of autocracy and that the Japanese people are brought up to be submissive. Now, unless the labourers of Japan are represented in the International Labour Organisation conferences, their grievances will not be heard by labourers in other countries. We labourers in Asia, from a moral point of view, should assist Japan in improving labour conditions in Japan. I wish to stress that the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour will constitute an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries; and that the general improvement in the labour standards of the Asian countries cannot be reached or secured on an international basis unless the standards agreed upon are also applicable to Japan.

I therefore ask for your full support for this resolution.

The PRESIDENT — I shall now put the resolution to the vote. If there are no objections, I shall declare the resolution adopted.

(The resolution is unanimously adopted.)

Proposed resolution concerning tripartite organisation and other appropriate arrangements, submitted by the Selection Committee.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — In introducing this resolution, I need not over-emphasise the importance of tripartite organisations, as this has been the essence of the success of international labour conferences. Tripartite organisations have worked with commendable success in India, and this resolution seeks to instruct Governments to make full use of such organisations, and also to secure necessary collaboration between the International Labour Organisation and such organisations. Although emphasis is laid on the tripartite character of these organisations, the resolution does not seek to exclude, and in fact it includes, consultation by Governments with organisations other than tripartite customary in various countries.

Mr. MIRAJKAR (*Workers' adviser, India*) — While supporting the resolution, I have a few suggestions to make for the consideration of delegates, and particularly the Government delegates attending this Conference.

I consider that in cases where a State or Government is of a federal character, tripartite organisations should come into being in the provinces as well. Here in India, for instance, we have a national tripartite organisation, but we have no tripartite organisation in the provinces. I would like you to consider that organisations of that type in the provinces would be of great importance and would also be of great use.

Tripartite organisations have a utility in resolving differences that arise, and they can really lead us to progress. It is from that point of view that I am making this suggestion that provincial tripartite organisations should also be set up.

We have some experience, and I, personally, claim that I have some experience, because I have participated in the tripartite organisation in my country. When the tripartite organisation came into being in this country, the country was still under the old régime. We have today a national régime, a national Government. During the old régime the tripartite organisation did not function quite satisfactorily as a means of making progress. Progress has been very slow. We met together and discussed problems, but no action was being taken on the matters that we discussed. The tripartite organisation should not merely be a forum for discussion, but should really lead to some action with a view to solving the problems that affect the workers. Here, in this country, for instance, for the last twenty years there has been the problem of health insurance. The question was taken up under the old régime in the tripartite organisation. There we discussed it at length. An expert came from the I.L.O. A report was drawn up. A Bill, I am told, had been drawn up and is under consideration. But it has taken twenty long years to give something concrete to the workers. I am sure that the new National Government will take up questions like this more speedily, so that the workers will derive the maximum advantage from the tripartite organisation.

I can give an illustration on another important question, namely, housing. This question also hangs fire. It was discussed in the tripartite organisation and reports were drawn up, but beyond that I must say that we have not secured better housing for the workers. What I want, therefore, is that out of the functioning of these tripartite organisations concrete action, concrete assistance and help for the workers, should be forthcoming. If that happens, great progress will have been made towards achieving the main objects of forming tripartite organisations in different countries. Progress : that is what we are fighting for. "Progress" ought to be the word writ large on the banner of our people ; and if we stand for progress, if we really want to have some progress in the matter of improving the conditions of workers in Asian regions, then this machinery can be of great help and assistance : I have no doubt on that point. The only thing is that the national Governments must immediately take up questions, discuss them, formulate policies and give effect to them as quickly as possible. That ought to be done, and if that is done, tripartite organisations will have served a purpose.

Only one word more. A new working class movement is rising in Asian countries. Everywhere new trade union movements are coming up, and these are putting forward their demands. In the post-war period the demands of the workers are coming up. These problems must be tackled concretely. They should be taken up by the tripartite organisations, discussed and action taken. If action is taken quickly and speedily, then this machinery will be of great assistance not only to the workers but also to Governments and employers. Our watchword must be "action", concrete action and some concrete good for the members of the working classes. If that is done, then the national tripartite organisations will have justified themselves. That must be the aim of forming and bringing into being the national tripartite organisations. I know that the International Labour Organisation has been doing its best. We have been attending its conferences and it has been giving a fillip to the solution

of the problems that affect the working classes. I have no doubt that the Organisation will also help in speeding up work through national tripartite organisations. Action should be our main purpose and our watchword. With these few remarks, I support the resolution.

The PRESIDENT — The resolution is now put to the vote. If there are no objections, I shall declare the resolution adopted.

(The resolution is unanimously adopted.)

Proposed resolution concerning increased production, submitted by the Selection Committee.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — In commending this resolution for acceptance by this Conference I need only point out that at the plenary sittings of this Conference, considerable emphasis has been laid on this aspect, as without increased production it would not be possible to ameliorate conditions in Asia. The resolution seeks to create an atmosphere in which differences between workers and employers could be easily resolved—an atmosphere which is essential for increase in production.

Mr. RAMAMURTI (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution, which calls the attention of the various States and countries to the short supply of goods needed by the common people. I support it because the working class is interested not only in maintaining production, but also in increasing the total output of the commodities that are needed by the common people. And the working class is not only willing to do its part in this matter, but is actually very anxious to see to it that the short supply of commodities that is today a common feature in all Asian countries is removed as speedily as possible.

While supporting it, I would like to offer a few remarks as to what exactly the implications of this resolution are. We welcome this resolution primarily because—in paragraphs (c) and (d)—it notes that the time has come to recognise a change in the existing relations of forces making up the factors of production. It is primarily from that point of view that I welcome this resolution. When we talk of co-operation, let us understand what exactly we mean by the word “co-operation”. Obviously, there cannot be co-operation between a slave and a slave-owner. We people coming from the Asian countries all know very well that during the last war the metropolitan countries, the colonial countries, the colonial Powers, sought to enlist the co-operation of the colonial peoples. We know what co-operation they sought to enlist and with what disastrous results. When we talk of co-operation between the employer and the employee we do not seek to impose that sort of co-operation that was sought to be created between the colonial Powers and the colonial peoples. That is not what we understand by the word co-operation. When we talk of co-operation, we mean that people on a footing of equality, on a footing of equal status, come together for the pursuit of a common objective. When they think of that common objective, they come together, discuss the problems and come to a common decision as to how exactly that common objective has got to be achieved. That is what we mean by co-operation.

If we apply this to the question of co-operation in the production of the various commodities of which there is a great shortage, it should mean in practice that there must be common discussion and common agreement on various problems that affect production at every level, at every stage, and on every factor that goes to make up production. That is how we understand co-operation. That is why we say that when we talk of co-operation, we have got to create the appropriate organs and organisations which will not only resolve the conflicts between capital and labour but which will also go into the question of production at every stage and at every level—at the national level, provincial level and factory level. It is in that spirit that I come here to support this resolution on production.

Paragraph (c) of this resolution draws the attention of the States and the people to “the need for establishing, in consultation with organisations of employers and workers, suitable consultative negotiating or statutory bodies for the speedy and equitable resolution of differences between labour and management”. It is on that aspect that we would like to lay the strongest emphasis. I can speak about this country, where we know that in the past there have been stoppages of production for reasons which could actually have been avoided. As a matter of fact, I know that in Bombay, for example, last year about nearly 80,000 workers had to go on strike to get implementation of a legal right which they had obtained under the Factories Act. They were entitled to ten days’ recuperative leave. Even for that they had to go on strike for seven days. We do not want such stoppages of work. Such instances can be multiplied. It will be absolutely essential to create proper conditions and machinery, to ensure that such stoppage of production does not take place and that the production apparatus runs as smoothly as possible.

When we talk of production, it is commonly accepted that there must be incentive for production. Unfortunately, today the incentive for production on the part of the industrialist, the employer, is very well recognised, namely, that he must get a certain amount of profit. Unless he gets that, there is no incentive for him to continue production. Today, at the moment I am talking before this Conference, I know as a matter of fact that in some places in the south of this country some of the textile mills are threatening to close down because they are not getting sufficient profits under the existing conditions. I am not now going into that aspect. But when you recognise that the employer or the industrialist has got to be given a certain level of profit if the incentive of production is to be maintained, I fail to see why the authorities do not adopt the same standards when they come to view the questions of the working classes. Today, what the worker asks is not luxurious standards. He only asks that he should have a living wage standard; and I would like to ask the various Governments whether it is not advisable to see to it that this incentive is actually given to the worker, so that the factors that enter into production can be properly kept up.

Lastly, I would like to make one more point. While we are interested in actual production, the workers in this country and elsewhere do not want to produce for black markets. The working class does not want to be a party to production of goods which do not reach the common people in the country. They are anxious to produce as much as possible, because they want to do service to the people, but at the same time they will not be guilty of being partners to a situation wherein the goods they produce do not reach the common people, but reach the black market. That is why they talk of co-operation. We also insist that the working class has its

rights in seeing that the goods that it produces actually reach the common people. Therefore we would insist that the various Governments that are represented in this Conference should also enlist the co-operation of the workers in seeing that the problems of production are properly solved by proper discussion, but at the same time they should devise measures which would give the worker a proper role, a proper place and a dominant voice in seeing that the goods that he produces actually reach the common people. By paying attention to these proposals, the problems of production can be solved very easily.

I wholeheartedly support this resolution and in commending it to the various Governments represented here, I would request them to understand its implications in the proper spirit and create a new condition wherein the problems with which they are faced and the various shortages of commodities from which the various Asian countries are suffering to-day can be solved easily and quickly.

The PRESIDENT — The resolution is now put to the vote. Is there any opposition to the resolution? It is agreed.

(The resolution is unanimously adopted.)

Proposed resolution concerning seafarers, submitted by the Selection Committee.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — In moving this resolution concerning seafarers, I need hardly add anything to the text, which speaks for itself, except to say that the approval of this resolution by this Conference will give increased attention to the special problems of Asian seafarers and hasten the completion of the factual study that is being made of these problems by the Office.

Mr. DESAI (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution on Asian seafarers. The resolution points out that the condition of Asian seafarers is of the greatest importance. It is certainly of great importance because, in the first place, the number of Asian seafarers is very large. In fact, they constitute about one third of the total seafaring population of the world. But it is not only a question of numbers. When we come to consider the living and working conditions of Asian seafarers as a whole, I must say that the condition of these people is very bad. In fact, Asian seafarers are the lowest paid in the world. Take, for instance, the position of Indian seafarers; in spite of the wage increase they obtained during the war, they are today getting only about 25 per cent. of the wages secured by British seafarers, even though they work along with British seafarers on the same ships and do the same kind of work with the same sort of efficiency. This low standard for Asian seafarers is not only a danger to Asia, but also a danger to the seafarers of the whole world. The International Labour Organisation, in its Philadelphia Charter, has pointed out that poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere. Similarly, low living conditions for one category of workers certainly tend to lower international standards. It is for this reason that this question of Asian seafarers should be considered not only

in the Asian context but also in the world context ; and I hope that this resolution, which is of great importance not only to the Asian seafarers but to the seafarers of the world as a whole, will be adopted unanimously.

There are certain problems regarding Asian seafarers. For instance, take the question of recruitment. In this respect, the position of Asian seafarers is extremely unsatisfactory and it has not improved for the last fifty or even a hundred years. In India we have a recruitment system which was very defective and which has been in existence since the time of the East India Company, and that system has not yet changed. The International Labour Conference, in its Genoa Session in 1920, adopted a Convention on the placing of seamen, that is, regarding the recruitment of seamen, and that Convention made certain suggestions as to how to eliminate bribery and corruption in the system of recruitment. But unfortunately that Convention has not yet been ratified by any of the Asian countries, including India. As a result of that Convention the Government of India in 1921 or so appointed a committee, called the Clow Committee, to consider the question of recruitment of Indian seamen, and that committee reported that 25 per cent. of the total wages of the Indian seafarers were being paid as bribes to the recruiting agents of the shipping companies. Unfortunately that report was not even published by the then Government of India. No action was taken on it. Then again, the Royal Commission on Indian Labour in 1931 said that bribery and corruption existed in the recruitment of seamen. Then again, the I.L.O. sent an official to India two years ago. This official submitted a report regarding social insurance for Indian seamen, in which it was admitted that abuses still existed in the system of recruitment.

In spite of all this, why was it that nothing was done by our Government ? The plain reason was that it was not our Government—it was a department of the British Government, all these years. As you know, Indian seamen are mostly employed on British ships, and 90 per cent. of them even today are employed on British ships. The British shipowners, who were the cream of British imperialism and capitalism, had so much influence in the British Parliament that the Government of India of those days—which was nothing but a department of the British Government—did not want to touch the British vested interests, namely the shipowners, and nothing was done for the unfortunate Indian seamen. What is the position today ? I say that bribery and corruption have increased instead of decreasing. In Bombay I have estimated that every year the seamen have to pay half a crore of rupees in the form of bribes to the intermediaries. Here is a document on which the signature of the Government Shipping Master of Bombay has been forged. I can give you sufficient documentary evidence to prove that even today bribery and corruption exist in the port of Bombay.

The time has come to put a stop to these evils. I am glad to say that the I.L.O. has also recognised the need to pay special attention to the problems of Asian seafarers. The Report submitted by the Director-General at the Seattle Conference last year said that the conditions of Indian and Chinese seamen required special consideration and that an enquiry should be undertaken into this question. That is one of the reasons why the I.L.O. has sent the Chief of its Maritime Service to this Conference, who went to Bombay and interviewed the seafarers' representatives. I am glad to say that the I.L.O. is moving in the matter and I hope that this enquiry which has been started by the I.L.O. now, though a little late, will be completed within a year or so, and that we

shall have a maritime conference somewhere in India or China or elsewhere in Asia.

I would draw your attention to one more point. The international labour Convention on social security for seafarers, adopted at the Seattle Session of the Conference, is not made applicable to the Asian seafarers who are employed on foreign ships. These seafarers include 90 per cent. of the Indian seafarers. We fought for their inclusion in the scope of the Convention, but could not get majority support and we were defeated. How to obtain social security measures is one of the urgent problems of the Asian seafarers. In this connection I may say that under the British health insurance legislation, the British shipowner has to pay contributions in respect of Indian seafarers whom he employs. That fund, which has amounted to crores of rupees, was not given to India for starting social insurance schemes for Indian seamen. Instead, that fund has been utilised all these years for giving pensions to British seafarers. That money belongs to Indian seamen. We raised this question at the Copenhagen Conference of the International Labour Organisation in 1945 and the British Government representative gave an assurance that if the Government of India started a scheme of social security, immediately thereafter the money would be transferred to India. My information goes to show that even today we have a balance of nearly two crores of rupees lying in London which really belongs to Indian seafarers. I am sure the present responsible and popular Government of India will immediately move in the matter and will get that amount and start a social insurance scheme soon, so that we may also receive all the future contributions from England. Our seafarers will thus be able to have some sort of relief.

I do not want to add anything more. This resolution was given notice of by the Indian Workers' delegate. I am very glad that it was unanimously accepted in the Committee, and I hope it will be unanimously accepted here also.

Mr. GAVIN (*Employers' delegate, United Kingdom*) — I do not propose to discuss the matters referred to by the Workers' representative from India in regard to the conditions of Asian seamen. Let me say, however, that in so far as his allegations refer to the conditions of work of Asian seamen on board British ships, I do not accept them. However, this is not a maritime conference and therefore not the place to deal with them. I would add incidentally that a full opportunity was given to discuss the matters referred to in the resolution originally proposed by the Workers' delegates from India only a year ago at the special Maritime Session held in Seattle. In fact no resolution was put forward before that Conference.

As far as the terms of the resolution itself are concerned, I take it that they involve no departure from the well-recognised and long-established procedure for dealing with maritime matters, and on that assumption I do not offer any objection to them.

Mr. A. K. KHAN (*Employers' delegate, Pakistan*) — In supporting this resolution, I wish to make a few observations on behalf of Indian employers. Incidentally, I come from that part of Pakistan where the industry which employs the largest number of workers is the shipping industry. You all know the very brilliant records of service and efficiency set up by the seamen of our country—I mean Pakistan as well as India—as it was known before partition. We are all, employers and workers,

proud of the great contribution that our seamen made during the last two wars for saving democracy.

Unfortunately, till recently, the Asian employer was not in the picture as he should have been. I know from my own experience—I am associated with a company—that in Chittagong we made two abortive attempts to float shipping companies, but we had to face very unfair and very keen competition from much stronger corporations and combines, and unfortunately at that time our Governments in Asian countries—I mean the colonial countries—could not give any protection to our shipping industry. The employers of Asia could do very little, in spite of all their sympathies, in spite of all their inclinations, to help the seafaring population. As you know, times have changed now. We are independent. We are free to fashion our own shipping policies, and we feel sure that we Asian employers will not lag behind other employers of the world in safeguarding the interests of our seafaring people.

Very recently the Government of India has pronounced its shipping policy, which has given great gratification to Indians; and I am sure our Government also will soon come forward with some such policy to help national shipping, and that the day is not far off when we shall have enough tonnage to carry the bulk of our exports and imports in our national bottoms.

I do not blame any particular country or the employers of any particular country, but I am afraid I cannot agree with my friend Mr. Gavin, when he says that you cannot criticise the British employers in the shipping industry. We know for certain that the conditions obtaining to-day leave much to be desired and much to be improved.

If you compare the conditions of life and work of an Indian seaman with those of a British or American seaman, you can easily see that a big gulf of difference lies between the two. As I have just told you, in the past neither our Governments nor our employers could effectively remedy the situation, so it is no use indulging in recriminatory remarks. But I am in total agreement with my friend Mr. Desai that the conditions of work and life must be improved, so that the standards of our seamen, who in spite of such great handicaps have produced such brilliant records of service, may be kept up. We are proud of them and we are determined to render greater help to them, so that they may in future do even better in defence of democracy and in ushering in prosperity for their countries.

Mr. LIM (*Workers' delegate, Singapore*) — The need of obtaining social justice for Asian seafarers is amply borne out by the resolution that is now before the Conference and I will therefore not enlarge on this point, as it has already been enlarged upon by previous speakers. The seafarers in Singapore are now seeking redress of their grievances and we are reserving all our energies for the fight that is ahead of us. We feel that this resolution will help us in our efforts to ameliorate the position of the Singapore seafarers. If injustice still prevails, it will then be time to seek the assistance of our benign godmother, the International Labour Office.

The PRESIDENT — I shall now put the resolution to the vote. If there are no objections, I shall declare the resolution adopted.

(The resolution and the report as a whole are unanimously adopted.)

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DEATH OF MR. JOHN G. WINANT

The PRESIDENT — I call on the Secretary-General to make an announcement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — The Conference will have no doubt seen with great regret the press report about the death of Mr. John G. Winant, a former Director of the International Labour Office. To those of us here who had had the privilege of personal acquaintance with him, whether at Geneva or during the war in London, where as American Ambassador he played a memorable part, Mr. Winant will always be an unforgettable character on account of his deep human sympathy. He was truly an international servant and his disappearance is a real loss to the world community. I am sure that the Conference will desire to place on record its regret and to send its condolence to Mrs. Winant.

The PRESIDENT — I take it that the Conference agrees to place on record its sense of regret and sorrow at the sad demise of the former Director of the I.L.O., and also to authorise the Office to take the necessary action to send a condolence message to the bereaved family.

MESSAGE FROM THE CHINESE MINISTER OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The PRESIDENT — I call on the Secretary-General to communicate to the Conference a message from the Minister of Social Affairs of China.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — I have received from Mr. Pao, Chinese Government delegate, a copy of the following telegram from the Minister of Social Affairs, Nanking :

“ Please convey to Secretary-General of Conference my deep regret for inability to attend Preparatory Asian Conference owing to pressure of official duty in China. ”

I am sure that the Conference will wish to send a cable reciprocating the regrets expressed by the Chinese Minister and formulating the hope that we may look forward to his presence among us at the next Asian regional conference.

The PRESIDENT — The Labour Minister of China was very anxious to attend this Conference, and when this fact was communicated to me I wrote to him a personal letter. Now he has sent this message through Mr. Pao, regretting his inability to attend the Conference, in view of the impending elections in China. We know the interest taken by the Chinese Minister of Labour in this Conference and I take it that the Conference would desire that the Office should take the necessary action for reciprocating the sentiments he has expressed in his cable.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)

TENTH SITTING

Thursday, 6 November 1947, 10.45 a.m.

Presidents: Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Cresson

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY¹: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT — The report of the Committee on social security is now before the Conference.

Mr. MUJTABA (*Government adviser, Pakistan*), *Reporter of the Committee on Social Security* — I have the honour to present to you this report of the Committee on Social Security. As you will know from the report, there were seven sittings, and the report is the result of the calm and cool deliberation of the three groups, that is, Government, employers, and employees. Throughout the deliberations of our Committee there prevailed a spirit of understanding and every group was actuated by the best of motives. The report is brief and you will find in it valuable suggestions for the planning of schemes of social security and medical care by the Asian Governments.

I must say that credit is due to the Indian delegates who submitted the original draft for consideration. The basis of our discussion was the report of the Office of this Conference entitled "Problems of Social Security". For the work the Office has done in preparing that report it deserves our thanks.

Some of the recommendations about medical care may not satisfy all people here. It must be admitted that though they may not represent a great step forward, they are definitely a step forward. In the light of these recommendations some of the Asian Governments may claim that in their countries everything is all right. But as we know, most of the people living in Asia—I mean the working classes—are not well off, and it is necessary that all Governments start immediately on some programme on these lines.

I request you kindly to adopt this report unanimously.

The PRESIDENT — The report on the problems of social security is open for discussion.

Mr. RAMAMURTI (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I have great pleasure in commending this report and resolution to the acceptance of this Conference. You will have seen that one of the papers circulated to the

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix III (3)*, pp. 210-220.

members of this Conference contains the following amendment submitted by the Indian Workers' delegate:

"In the third paragraph of the preamble to the proposed resolution insert after the second sentence, ending 'under certain conditions', the following sentence: 'The Conference further recommends that social security schemes to cover the above-mentioned risks should be inaugurated, in respect of industrial workers, within a period of ten years.'"

We have decided for certain reasons not to press that amendment, and I would like to offer certain remarks, while commending this resolution to the acceptance of the Conference. The first paragraph of the resolution, which is the preamble, lays down in categorical terms that social security schemes are an essential condition of building up a genuine democratic society and that, for reasons which are adumbrated in that paragraph of the preamble, the building up of these social security schemes has become an urgent task. Some of us would, as a matter of fact, have liked the resolution to go a little bit further and to fix a definite time-limit within which these social security schemes should be built up in Asian countries. Why we were anxious that a certain time-limit should be fixed was this: the preamble states in effect that unless you build these social security schemes, all talk of a genuine democratic society is mere moonshine; therefore a definite date must be fixed, before which these schemes must be completed, as the only way of laying the foundation for a democratic society. You first of all lay the elementary bricks, not even the full foundation, the elementary bricks on which alone a real democratic society can be built up. If you do not today take time by the forelock, if you do not act quickly, then the very elementary task of merely laying the foundation, let alone actually building up the huge edifice of democracy, is not taken in hand. That is why we say this is an urgent task and has got to be immediately taken up.

When we come to the question of application, I know from the discussion that took place in our own Committee that various arguments are put forward for delaying the social security schemes. For example, in some quarters it is urged: "Look here, you cannot today transplant the conditions that are prevalent in the United States of America onto Indian soil. It is all very well for the people of the United States, with their higher standards of living and of production, to talk of social security schemes. You cannot afford schemes which the American workers can afford to have. The American people are rolling in their Rolls-Royce cars. You cannot think in terms of them: you have to be satisfied with bullock carts."

On behalf of the workers of India, all that I have to say is that we do not want any Rolls-Royce cars—all that we want is that we should be able to stand on our own legs. Today, without these social security schemes, we are crippled. Therefore all that we ask of this Conference and of the various Governments is this: Make us walk, put us on our feet, so that we will be able to catch up; and later on, when our standards of living increase, we will not only catch up with the more advanced countries but actually surpass them. That is the position we in this country want to take.

That is just the reason why, even though we have not today formally moved the amendment, we would like the Government representatives

in this Conference to take note of the feeling of the delegates of the workers—the feeling that these schemes must be accelerated. In the third paragraph of the preamble this resolution says:

“ This Conference, while noting the proposals for social security schemes in various stages of consideration in some of the Asian countries, is of opinion that the progress of such schemes should be accelerated. ”

I lay emphasis on “ accelerated ” because we, the people—the workers and the common people—in these Asian countries, are dissatisfied with the progress achieved so far. Therefore we would like the various Asian Governments that are represented in this Conference to take note of the fact that, though in this resolution we have not sought to fix any time-limit before which these social security schemes ought to be completed, it is up to them to see that these schemes are speedily inaugurated not within a period of ten years but immediately, so that by the time we meet next we will be in a position to say: “ Look here, we have made a beginning in this respect and within the course of not ten years but probably within five years we will be able to complete all these social security schemes.”

Of course, in the Asian countries the problem is a huge one, and it may be argued that in countries where agricultural economy predominates it will not be possible immediately to have any social security schemes, particularly schemes on an insurance basis, which will be applicable to the entire population. In that case all that we would urge upon Governments is that they make a beginning somewhere. Sometimes the charge is levelled against us that we want to create a special privileged class; but we are certainly not asking for any privileged treatment. On the other hand, we will welcome a situation in which the Governments of the various Asian countries represented here would come forward of their own accord and inaugurate and complete these schemes, not only in respect of industrial workers, not only in respect of organised workers, but in respect of the entire population. But when this proposition is put forward to them, some of them reply that it is a huge problem which they cannot tackle simultaneously on all fronts. I agree, you have got to go step by step. If you cannot make a beginning simultaneously on all fronts, you have to make a beginning somewhere. The only front on which you can make a beginning is that of the industrial and organised workers. We have got the administrative machinery. Let us make a beginning at least in respect of the industrial workers, so that these schemes can be completed very quickly.

Another argument is sometimes put forward. In Britain, an advanced country, it took nearly fifty years to complete the social security schemes; therefore, in Asian countries, which are not so developed, it is not possible to talk in terms of completing these schemes in a much shorter time. All I would like to say in reply is that even though advanced countries took about fifty years, it is not necessary that we, who are now making progress should go through all the various stages, the various processes and travail that these countries went through. After all, history can teach us lessons. If we do not learn from the experience of the great advanced countries and incorporate all that experience, so that progress is made at a much accelerated pace, then I do not think we will be worthy of our salt. Let us not think in terms of the number of years that the more

advanced countries took ; let us assimilate the experience of the Western countries and try to complete these schemes much earlier.

Lastly, I would like to say that we are not pressing this amendment for the following very simple reason. In the Asian countries we now have Governments which are much more responsible and which are representative of the people. And we think these Governments will be in a position to understand the feelings of the workers and the feelings of the people and will quickly respond to the call that these schemes must be immediately taken in hand and must be completed as quickly as possible, much more quickly than even within a time limit of ten years, so that the real foundation for the building up of a democratic society can be really laid. Let it not be said at the end of ten years that we have still to lay the first brick of the foundation of democratic society ; let us make a beginning and so lay the foundation for a genuine democracy which will be a beacon light to all the countries in the world, including the most advanced countries.

The PRESIDENT — The adoption of the report has been formally moved and seconded. Notices of amendments were given by the delegates of Pakistan and India, which you have seen from the papers circulated to you. Since then the Workers' delegate of India has written to say that he wishes to withdraw his amendment. The only amendments pending are those submitted by the Workers' delegate of Pakistan. I call upon Dr. A. M. Malik to move his amendments.

Dr. MALIK (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — My first amendment is very simple. It refers to paragraph 4 (*c*) of the resolution. If you refer to paragraph 9 of the Medical Care Subcommittee's report in Annex II¹, you will find the statement that "where local conditions make the establishment of such factory hospitals practicable or desirable, and where no public facilities exist within easy reach in an adequate or suitable form", certain provisions are recommended as the minimum desirable. This report was unanimously adopted by the Committee, but unfortunately in the final report it is not mentioned anywhere. That is why I want it to be incorporated somewhere in the resolution, and I have proposed to do so under paragraph 4 (*c*), which would then read as follows (additional words are italicised) :

"Medical care should be provided on an adequate scale and should include in-patient hospital treatment wherever possible, *in accordance with the recommendation of the Medical Care Subcommittee.*"

I think I need say no more, and I hope that it will be accepted unanimously. If there is any opposition, I reserve my right to speak after that.

The PRESIDENT — It is better if you move all your amendments and then the Conference will consider them. When the question comes up for voting, we will take votes on each one of them separately.

Dr. MALIK (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I withdraw my amendment No. 2, which proposed to add at the end of paragraph 4 (*e*) :

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix III (3)*, p. 218.

" Besides in all industrial undertakings there should be provision for periodical compulsory medical examination of workers and for personal preventive measures against malaria, smallpox, cholera, typhoid, etc., as recommended by the Medical Care Subcommittee."

Regarding amendment No. 3, which is, I think slightly controversial, I only want to state that, regarding maternity benefit, the original recommendation of the Indian Government delegates' proposed resolution was " that maternity benefit should be granted during maternity leave for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement ". In the discussion in the Medical Care Subcommittee there was no unanimity. So its recommendation is " two months ". I propose that in paragraph 6 (a) of the resolution the words " subject to the modifications indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on medical care " be deleted and replaced by

" or for a total period of twelve weeks, whichever is required by the woman concerned in consideration of her condition of health. "

Here also I do not propose to take up your time. If there is any opposition, I hope the President will kindly allow me to answer.

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*) — In seconding amendment No. 1, I would draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that this amendment would probably not have been moved had there been no reference at all in the resolution to the Medical Care Subcommittee. But unfortunately the Medical Care Subcommittee's report has been mentioned specifically in the resolution in one part, but left out in the other. The Medical Care Subcommittee's report was accepted unanimously and received very high praise from each group within the Committee. In that report the question of hospital treatment—in-patient, out-patient and dispensary treatment—was dealt with. If you look at paragraph 6 (a), you will see that it says : " Maternity benefits should be granted during maternity leave for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, subject to the modifications indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care. " That is the only reference in the resolution to the Subcommittee's report on medical care, and all that this amendment is asking for is that the same acknowledgment of the Subcommittee's report shall be made in subparagraph (c). I have pleasure therefore, in seconding this amendment and I hope that it will be carried unanimously.

Mr. YAP (*Employers' adviser, Singapore*) — I just want to point out something regarding amendment No. 3 moved by Dr. Malik, Workers' delegate for Pakistan, and to show to you the futility of trying to prescribe a very rigid period for maternity benefits. If the Conference should agree to this amendment, we would be committing ourselves to a definite period without any variation at all suitable to the conditions prevailing in different countries.

The PRESIDENT — The amendment has not been seconded yet. I understood that you were seconding it.

Mr. YAP (*Employers' adviser, Singapore*) — I am opposing the amendment. I am sorry there has been a misunderstanding.

Mr. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — I heartily second amendment No. 3 moved by my friend Dr. Malik.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*) — On a point of order, Mr. President. May we know which amendment we are discussing? I understand that No. 1 has been moved and seconded and No. 3 has been moved. There seems to be quite indiscriminate discussion on both the amendments. It would help to clarify the situation if we could know which amendment we are discussing at this particular moment.

The PRESIDENT — May I inform the gentleman who has raised the point of order that when Dr. Malik came to move the amendment I asked him to move both the amendments, Nos. 1 and 3. No. 1 has been formally seconded, and then the question of seconding No. 3 arose. Now No. 3 has also been formally seconded. As I made it clear when Dr. Malik was moving the amendments, it will be better for discussion in the Conference if both the amendments are moved, and then the report of the Committee, along with the amendments, is taken into consideration. When it comes to the question of voting, the amendments will be voted one by one in order to save time. That is the procedure we are following here. I do not think there is any point of order.

Now, the report of the Committee, along with the amendments, is before the House. I have a long list of speakers before me, and the Secretary-General is to speak in reply to the discussion on the Director-General's Report. I suggest that the discussion on the report should be suspended and that the Secretary-General should address the Conference in reply to the discussion on the Director-General's Report. I take it that you agree to this suggestion.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND ITEM IV : REPLY OF THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-GENERAL

The PRESIDENT — I invite Mr. Rens, Secretary-General of the Conference, to speak in reply to the discussion on the Director-General's Report.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — Mr. President, in your opening address you were good enough to refer to this Conference as a historic event. When you said that, I did not realise how true the statement was. Now that I have worked for nearly a fortnight with the hundreds of representatives from almost twenty countries attending the Conference, I am able to realise more fully how historic this moment is for the peoples of Asia.

At present a strong wind of liberation is blowing through the whole of this vast and ancient continent. One after another the peoples of Asia are regaining their independence. Only a few months ago India and Pakistan became sovereign nations, and thereby took their place among the foremost countries of the world. In a short time Burma and Ceylon will follow their example. In all these cases it is extremely gratifying—and it is worth emphasising—that this change, which affects hundreds of millions of human beings, involving the transfer of powers and sovereignty over vast areas possessing a wealth of natural resources of all kinds, should have been carried out by agreements freely reached between the parties concerned. In this "troubled and threatening world in which the outlook is dark and the future uncertain"—to quote the words of Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans—the fact that justice and reason prevailed in working

out such far-reaching and such delicate settlements is of the highest significance and is a good augury for the establishment of peaceful relations between the nations. The peoples of other countries have perhaps not yet fully appreciated the importance of this happy event, and yet they have almost as much reason to rejoice over them as have the peoples directly concerned.

At the very moment when these vast emancipation movements are reaching their goal, thus radically changing the map of Asia, we have met at the very heart of this ancient continent. It is merely a coincidence, but it is a happy one, for among the numerous tasks facing these new independent nations there are none more important or more urgent than those laid down in the Declaration of Philadelphia. That Declaration, which is now a part of our Constitution, states that the chief aim of national and international policy should be to create conditions such that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material wellbeing and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity".

It was therefore with real pride that I heard the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, express complete agreement with the purposes laid down in the Declaration. His words, inspired by the dominant desire to improve the living and working conditions of the labouring classes of India, did more than anything else could have done to demonstrate that this Conference is being held at a particularly propitious moment.

Before attempting a review of the debate on the Director-General's Report and the Report on "The Economic Background of Social Policy", I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of Mr. Phelan as well as on my own behalf, to express the grateful appreciation of the Office for all the assistance it has received from the Government of India and particularly from the Ministry of Labour in the preparations for this Conference. The difficulties involved have been considerable, for this is the first conference under the auspices of the Organisation that the Office has undertaken in this part of the world. Our demands have been correspondingly great, but the response has been most generous. For this invaluable support our thanks are due in the first place to the Honourable Labour Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram, who, although he has not yet recovered from the serious injuries he sustained from an airplane accident on his way back home from our Conference at Geneva, has taken a close and enthusiastic personal interest in making this Conference a success. In this effort, which has entailed close consideration of numerous details for many weeks, he has been assisted by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Labour, Mr. Lall, who has for a score of years been associated with the work of the Organisation, Mr. Menon, the Acting Secretary, Mr. Narayanan, the Joint Secretary, Mr. Aggarwal, the Deputy Secretary, and their staff. To all of them I tender our warmest thanks for their kindness, their ungrudging help at all times, and the spirit in which they have identified themselves with our efforts to leave nothing undone to prepare for this meeting on a scale befitting its importance.

The general discussion, which lasted for a whole week and included speeches by 10 Government delegates, 6 Workers' delegates, 6 Employers' delegates and 3 representatives of the United Nations and the World Health Organisation, fully confirmed the historic significance of this first Labour Conference of the Asian countries. When the records of this debate and the results of the work of the Conference are published, they will faithfully reflect, not only the social conditions at present prevailing

in Asia—for the improvement of which a great deal remains to be done—but also the needs and aspirations of the workers as well as the determination of the Governments to raise the economic and social standards of these countries which have newly won that independence up to the legitimate aspirations of their people. The first Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation has indeed revealed the gap that exists between what is and what should be, and that is why it marks, for the nations here represented, a new starting point in their advance towards the fulfilment of their aims.

There was another reason why the general discussion was valuable. It enabled the speakers to express their views on what the International Labour Organisation can do for Asia. A great number of suggestions and proposals, not unflavoured sometimes with criticism, were put forward and I am sure that those who made the proposals will expect a reply. The large number of speakers who took part in the debate will appreciate that it is quite impossible to reply in detail to all the points they raised. I shall therefore limit myself, in these remarks, to some of the problems which seem to me particularly important and urgent. But I am happy to give on the Director-General's behalf the assurance that every idea, every criticism, every suggestion, every piece of advice and every proposal put forward in the course of the discussion will be carefully studied and that the fullest possible account will be taken of them in the future work of the Organisation.

I must express my deep regret, which I am sure you all share, that our Director-General, Mr. Phelan, was unable to be with us. For no-one is better qualified than he to reply to you on behalf of the Organisation. I should like to emphasise that if the Conference has met, it was mainly because he devoted himself wholeheartedly first to securing the decision to hold it and then to making all the necessary preparations for it. I hope that Mr. Liu, and indeed all the members of the Conference, will realise that the absence of Mr. Phelan from this Conference is due solely to the fact that his presence at the Assembly of the United Nations was and still is now indispensable for defending the interests of this Organisation. Having said that, I shall do the best I can to replace Mr. Phelan at this rostrum.

Several speakers from all three groups reproached the International Labour Organisation for being an unduly European or else an American and European organisation, which had not devoted sufficient attention to the problems of Asia. This reproach, expressed in more or less critical terms, recurs in some of the most important speeches. It may be called one of the leading themes of this Conference, and for that reason I feel it my duty to reply fully and frankly to it.

There can be no doubt that a study of the activities of the I.L.O. in the past shows that in its initial stages our Organisation was concerned mainly with the social and labour problems peculiar to the industrial workers of Europe and North America. The explanation is, I think, simple. The idea of the International Labour Organisation arose in Europe less than thirty years ago. It was largely the result of the demands of the organised workers, the justness of which was increasingly recognised during the first World War. The moving spirit which led to the establishment of this institution came from the industrial workers of Europe and the United States. In those countries, the industrial revolution of a century ago took place much earlier than in other countries. In those parts of the world the labour movement is older than anywhere else, and by organised activities gave for years vigorous impulse to legislation on social questions and labour

conditions. It was therefore to be expected that the idea of establishing this Organisation and of laying down international social standards should have come from those countries.

In those days most of the countries of Asia were still in a colonial or semi-colonial stage. The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, rightly pointed out that this fact raised a barrier between the peoples of Asia and those of Europe. The peoples of these two continents had reached different stages of evolution. For those of Asia, as Pandit Nehru emphasised, the main purpose was to gain their political liberty ; for those of Europe, who already enjoyed independence and to a large extent democratic institutions, the question of social progress was the dominant thought. At that time, the two continents were really two different worlds separated by political barriers and by very dissimilar economic and social conditions. These differences were not confined to the countries of Asia and those of North America and Europe, especially Western Europe ; they existed also between Western Europe on the one hand and Eastern Europe and South America on the other hand. From the point of view of economic and social conditions, Latin America in particular had many points of similarity with Asia.

In the last decade, though, the situation has greatly changed. Throughout the world, industrialisation has made rapid progress and means of communication and transport have developed to an amazing extent. This intensification and acceleration of international communications has done much to bring the countries of the world closer together. The economic system is increasingly becoming one and indivisible. If any one sector of the world economy is disorganised, all the other sectors are affected, and the recent World War provided more than one example of how the interruption of only a single normal international current of economic life can paralyse all national economies. Consequently, we find that at the present day, the same economic and social problems confront every continent and every country.

I therefore accept your reproach that the I.L.O. was too exclusively European in outlook, as a fact that was true in the past and inevitable at a certain stage of its evolution. For the last ten years or so, however, the reproach is less justified, for during that decade we have made considerable and constant efforts to extend our activities in the countries of Latin America. We took advantage of the fact that our working centre during the war was established in Canada to intensify our work and our studies on the social problems of South America.

I beg you to believe that the International Labour Office, its Governing Body, its Director-General and its staff are all fully conscious of their responsibilities towards the Asian countries—which responsibilities result from recent developments. We all appreciate the need for adjusting our activities to the needs of regions other than Europe, and I think that our present activities are a proof of that fact. Only a few weeks ago a conference of experts on social security from a large number of European countries was held in Geneva under the auspices of the I.L.O. When the present Conference ends, our staff will proceed immediately to Istanbul for the first regional meeting of the countries of the Near and Middle East. At the same time, also under the auspices of the Organisation, an inter-American conference of representatives of social security administrations will be meeting at Rio de Janeiro. That four important meetings in two months are being held in four different parts of the world is surely the best possible proof that the I.L.O. is trying to acquire that sense

of world perspective which Pandit Nehru stressed so much in his speech.

Our efforts, in so far as the Far East is concerned, are however still in their early stages. Let us then consider the nature of the action to be taken in response to the desires you have expressed. I am sure you will understand me if I speak frankly in the matter. I personally believe that if we want the work of the International Labour Organisation to reflect faithfully the needs of all parts of the world, the creation of new machinery is not necessarily the best way to go about it.

There is a tendency nowadays to set up international institutions whenever some new problem calls for international co-operation. This has already led to the establishment of a swarm of international institutions, each with a more or less numerous staff and services, each with more or less extensive financial resources, and each holding frequent international meetings which become very expensive for the States Members. The countries affiliated to those organisations are already feeling the strain on their finances and on the time of their statesmen and administrative officials, and some of them are already showing signs that they want a reduction in the budgets of these organisations.

The establishment of new machinery to meet regional requirements would call for considerable additional financial resources, which I believe it would be difficult to obtain in present circumstances. But it is not merely a financial question ; there is also the physical impossibility of organising an ever-increasing number of meetings, sending a sufficient number of competent delegates and giving effect to the innumerable decisions of those meetings, which sometimes overlap one another.

For my part, I feel that we could and should use fully the machinery which we already possess rather than create something new. I am therefore particularly happy that the Conference in the resolution which it adopted yesterday has endorsed this view. I confidently hope that regional Asian conferences, of which this is the first, will meet regularly in the future and that through them it will be possible for us to review at regular intervals the progress made in social policy and give a stimulus to further action.

I believe that it will be possible to send from time to time missions to Asian countries to examine the problems on the spot. It was such a mission that successfully prepared the reports which have formed the basis of your discussions at the present Conference.

The Governing Body, which guides the activities of the Organisation, is assisted by a whole series of advisory bodies, such as the Permanent Agricultural Committee, the Joint Maritime Commission, and committees on co-operation, the employment of women, the employment of children and young persons, migrations, social security, non-metropolitan territories, and industrial health and safety. It would seem to me desirable for the Governing Body to review the composition of those committees and consider whether the Asian countries are adequately represented ; it could then make any adjustment which might be necessary. It would also be possible for those committees to study problems of special interest to Asia. The Governing Body might well convene from time to time one or other of those committees to meet in this continent, with an agenda devoted in whole or in part to the problems of Asian countries, which would thus be discussed in the appropriate environment of this part of the world.

There are several other possibilities. As you are doubtless aware, the I.L.O. has a technical staff which is small in number but highly skilled.

I should think it desirable that some of those experts should be sent to various countries in Asia to meet the local experts and study with them, from the technical standpoint, the problems in their particular field of activity. Such a technical meeting of labour inspectors from China, India, Ceylon, Burma and other countries, with one or more experts from the International Labour Office acquainted with the technical administration of labour inspection, could provide very valuable results for the development of inspection in this continent. I can readily imagine the benefits which result from meetings of this kind attended by experts from Asian countries on industrial safety, employment services, the protection of women and children and co-operation, and experts with experience of these problems in other parts of the world. This policy, which we have already followed in Latin America, has proved extremely useful in that region. In particular, meetings of this kind provided a powerful incentive to the extension of social insurance schemes in those countries.

There are still other services which the Office can render. Many of the social problems with regard to which the Office has already acquired experience and been recognised as an authority are now beginning to arise in the countries of Asia, where the Governments often find it very difficult to find and apply the right solution. In some cases at least, the Office could give direct assistance by sending experts to help those Governments in the drafting of legislative measures and in the organisation of administrative machinery to carry them out.

It is true that the number of our officials from the Asian countries should also be increased so as to enable the whole of our staff to become familiar with the problems of this continent. The proper approach to this problem is not, in our view, to establish within the Office a group of Asian officials dealing only with the problems of Asia. The proper approach is to have on the staff an appropriate proportion of Asian officials, to distribute them over all our technical services and to make them work side by side with colleagues from Europe and America so that, as a result of those contacts and that collaboration, every official, irrespective of his country of origin, may learn to work in the service of every country with a true and balanced appreciation of the special needs of each continent. It is only by such an intermingling of the experience and knowledge of all members of the staff that we can hope to reflect the multiple differences that exist between the situations of different countries and regions. I can assure you that the problem of recruiting officials from Asia is receiving the fullest attention. I venture to hope that in this task we can count on the active assistance of the Asian countries and that they will not refuse us the services of some of their ablest citizens to supplement our staff.

In order to have a rapid and complete information service, we are also intending to develop our network of correspondents and to strengthen our branch offices in Asia. We hope to have in every Asian country a correspondent who, week by week, will keep us in touch with all social developments in his country. These correspondents will be responsible for informing us about new social legislation and for providing us with the essential documentary basis for the work of our technical sections.

Finally, I would suggest the possibility of holding occasional meetings in Asia of some of our industrial committees or even of the International Labour Conference itself. All these proposals which I have hastily touched upon would help to extend our field of action and to make our studies

more complete, reflecting more accurately the situation and needs of different areas, including the Asian region. They would at the same time enable Asian countries to familiarise themselves fully with the functions and activities of the Organisation.

I should like also to refer briefly to the complaints made regarding representation at this Conference. It is true that all the countries of Asia are not represented at this meeting. It is also true that not all the countries here are represented in the same way. Some have direct representation, whereas others are represented through the intermediary of non-Asian Governments which are responsible for the international relationships of the territories concerned. This means that representation of the Asian countries is neither complete nor uniform. This is due to the present state of flux in this continent.

The official announcement during the Conference that Pakistan has become a Member of the International Labour Organisation was particularly gratifying. The indications given by responsible spokesmen that Burma and Ceylon likewise intend to become Members are good omens for the future. It is true that the situation in some quarters is less satisfactory, but it may be hoped that the difficulties will be successfully overcome before the next conference. I have in mind Indonesia and Indo-China, where efforts are at present being made to reach political agreement. We must hope that those efforts will soon be crowned with success. Korea also is advancing through real but not insurmountable difficulties towards its independence.

As the Conference pointed out in the resolution which it adopted unanimously yesterday, the co-operation of Japan is also essential to the success of our efforts to improve the standards of living throughout Asia, and I trust that a peaceful and democratic Japan will resume its place in the Organisation and co-operate actively in its work at no distant date.

Gradually, one after another, all those countries, and others as well, we hope, will be enabled to play an effective part on a footing of equality in the work of international institutions. Time will bring about the necessary changes, and in these days such advances are made rapidly.

I should like now for a few moments to draw your attention to the tremendous task facing the Governments of the Asian countries in their effort to establish a balanced economy and to ensure social progress for their working masses. The various speeches delivered during this Conference, to which I listened very attentively, have enabled me to appreciate more fully the extent, complexity and difficulties of that task.

Mr. Pao very wisely quoted a few figures to us to give us some idea of the extent of the territories and the number of inhabitants to be dealt with by the Asian countries in raising economic and social standards. These countries cover no less than one third of the surface of the globe and have a thousand million inhabitants, or more than half the population of the world. These figures help a little, but only a little, to bring home to us the immensity of the problem. In venturing to tackle that problem you will require great courage and great faith. The optimistic note which I heard throughout the whole of the discussion shows that you possess those qualities — without which success would be impossible.

Many of you, in all three groups, have been trained in a hard school, which has steelyed your character, strengthened your courage and fired your faith. Indeed, the general discussion brought out the close connection and the continuity that exist here in Asia between the national liberation movements and the movement for social progress. If you devote

the courage, the faith and the enthusiasm which you have shown in your past struggles to the task of securing for your peoples, and more particularly for the working masses, the material and spiritual advancement for which they are longing, there can be no doubt of your success. The proof that you are sincerely determined to undertake that task can, in my opinion, be found in the words of the great and wise Indian leader, Mahatma Gandhi, when he said : " Freedom would lose its significance if the lot of the common man were not improved. " It would be difficult to find a better definition of the vital problem of the democracies of our time, not only here in Asia, but throughout the world. But it is not enough to know the exact extent of your task ; it is not enough to have sufficient faith and courage ; there must also be a clear vision of the goal to be reached and an exact idea of the means of reaching it. From this point of view I listened with pleasure to the speeches of the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, of the President of our Conference, the Minister of Labour of India, of the Minister of Supply of India, Dr. Mookerjee, of the Minister for Industry and Labour of Burma, Mahn Wim Maung, of the Chinese Government delegate, Mr. Pao, and of a number of Employers' and Workers' delegates, among whom I will mention only Sir Shri Ram, Mr. Liu, Mr. Wu and Mr. de Silva. I do not overlook the fact that in Asia, as in Europe, the smaller countries have an important contribution to make in respect of social progress in this continent. All these speakers I have mentioned and a number of others agreed on the necessity for three things : increased production ; more equitable distribution ; and a general plan to promote both. Continued agreement on these points seems to me to be another essential condition for the success of your task. I would therefore beg you to see to it that agreement is maintained. I trust you will not take it amiss if I venture to advise you to devote special attention to the development of industrial relations. The Office has some experience in this field and will be entirely at your disposal whenever you consider it desirable to set up a system of bipartite or tripartite negotiating machinery or conciliation or arbitration machinery.

If the representatives of the workers and the employers are in the habit of meeting at regular intervals, either with or without the participation of Government representatives, it will then be possible to establish and maintain that truce to which the Prime Minister of India referred in his opening speech. The basis for such a truce seems to me obvious. In substance it will not be different from similar agreements concluded since the end of the war in certain European countries. Such a truce or agreement in the present conditions involves on the workers' side full recognition of the imperative necessity to produce and to go on producing ; it implies for the employers wholehearted recognition that a larger, more generous and more equitable share of production should be granted to the workers.

These few comments arising out of your general discussion show that the discussion was highly suggestive and full of lessons for all of us. In my view, the most precious lesson that I and all my colleagues learned was the absolutely cardinal importance of agriculture and domestic industries in the Asian countries. I now realise that if the International Labour Organisation is going to be of real value to its members in Asia, it must never lose sight of the fact which you, Mr. President, recalled to our minds, namely, that more than 75 per cent. of the population of the Asian countries is engaged in agriculture and domestic industries. It follows that if we are to be of real use to you, we must adapt our methods

of study and research to the needs of your vast agricultural populations. Although the principles laid down in our Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia apply just as much to these hundreds of millions of agricultural producers as they do to industrial workers, there can be no doubt that the methods of interpreting these principles will differ fundamentally for the two categories. I can promise you that the Office will devote itself with energy and perseverance to the task of working out appropriate methods for dealing with the social problems of your agricultural producers.

I might mention in passing that I also intend to suggest to the Director-General that the Governing Body be asked to consider the question of securing fuller representation at future regional conferences for experts of agriculture and the co-operative movement. I feel it would be easy to ensure better representation of these groups by urging Governments to bear the question in mind when making up their delegations.

I have outlined some of the ways in which the I.L.O. can hope to assist the Asian countries in the economic and social task that lies before them and which the President justly described as herculean.

But, as Dr. Mookerjee and other speakers have rightly observed, the Asian countries in their turn can make a valuable contribution to the work of the I.L.O.

When they ask the I.L.O. to give closer attention to their own special difficulties—which are perhaps only magnified versions of difficulties which exist everywhere in the world—they will undoubtedly help it to gain a clearer view of problems which arise in less acute forms in Europe and elsewhere. This should result in the I.L.O. reconsidering and broadening its approach to these problems and, in the process, finding new solutions or rediscovering those which have in recent times been overlooked.

So soon as the countries of Asia are more directly and closely associated with all the activities of the I.L.O., so soon as qualified spokesmen of their ideas, their problems and their interests play their full part in all the committees and other bodies of the I.L.O., so soon as a larger number of Asian officials share in the I.L.O.'s daily work, from that time the Organisation will be enriched by the wealth of the genius of Asia, of the wisdom and of the humane and idealistic philosophy which Asia has evolved over long centuries of civilisation.

I could continue to draw lessons from this very instructive debate, but I must bring my remarks to a close. However, as a year or two may elapse before we meet again, I hope you will bear with me for a few moments more to consider one final point.

One thing which has struck me most forcibly at this Conference—and it is not the first time that I have noticed it—is that, in spite of the differences between your economic and social forms, structure and standards and those of other regions, the requirements, the hopes and the aspirations of your working classes are fundamentally the same as anywhere else. The working masses of Asia, like those of Europe, of the two Americas, of Africa and of Oceania, all have the same basic and healthy longing for liberty, wellbeing and security, peace and respect for human personality. It is true that these are in themselves simple things, but they are apparently difficult to achieve, for they have constantly haunted the minds of men for centuries during which mankind has suffered from domination or from exploitation, or from both.

To be free to speak and think without fear, to be free to choose one's

occupation and follow one's vocation, to be free to go wherever one wishes, to be free to hold one's head high without cringing before any man, these are the freedoms for which every person in this world, however poor and humble, feels a constant longing in the depth of his soul.

Is there in the world one man who does not want sufficient food for himself and his family, sufficient clothing in which he need not be ashamed to appear before his fellow-men, a house to which, however humble, he can invite anyone, the possibility of providing his children with a decent education, the assurance of care in the event of sickness and old age and, above all, the guarantee of continuous employment for his labour ?

Is there any human being of any rank, class or caste who does not wish to be respected by his neighbours, both for what he is and for the work he does ?

After the long series of disasters which have recently convulsed the world, when war caused unprecedented destruction and claimed millions and millions of victims, is there a single man, woman or child who does not curse war and desire with all the strength of his being to see peace established in this world ?

In the pursuit of these aims, which, alas, still too often seem utopian, you, the people of Asia, are indissolubly linked to the inhabitants of the whole world. One of yourselves, the great Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, summed up these aspirations in a famous poem, from which I should like to quote :

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;
 where knowledge is free ;
 where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
 domestic walls ;
 where words come out from the depth of truth ;
 where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ;
 where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
 desert sands of dead habit ;
 where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
 and action ;
 into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

These aspirations, which he so admirably expressed for his own people, apply equally to the whole of humanity.

In these days, what differentiates one people from another is no longer the goal at which they aim or the ideals they follow, but simply the paths by which they seek to reach the goal and the length of the road which they still have to travel. It must be admitted that you have still further to go than some others, and it is for you to catch up. I almost envy you on this account, for, as was said by a great friend of the Indonesian people, the Dutch writer Multatuli, now nearly ninety years ago, it is a joy to work in a country in which the task is not yet completed and to be there before the harvest is gathered in, "because the joy is not in cutting the paddy ; the joy lies in cutting the paddy which you have planted. It is not the *wage* a man earns that makes him great of soul, but the *labour* through which he earns that wage."

The PRESIDENT—I am sure the Conference will associate itself with me in congratulating the Secretary-General on the able and marvellous

speech that he has made just before the Conference. It is a wonderful survey of the situation in Asian countries and a marvellous resumé of the discussions we have had in the house. The promise that has been held out to the Asian countries by the Secretary-General of the Office to take more interest in the problems of the Asian countries is all the more heartening. Without taking more of your time, I congratulate him on my own behalf and on behalf of the Conference for his able speech.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY ¹:
DISCUSSION (*contd.*)

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will now resume discussion of the report of the Committee on Social Security and the resolution on social security submitted by the Committee.

Mr. FERNANDO (*Employers' delegate, Ceylon*) — It gives me very great pleasure to support the main resolution now before the meeting and in doing so to express my personal pleasure at having had the opportunity of taking part in this Conference. I am certain that the Delhi Conference of 1947 will go down in history as the Magna Charta of Asian labour.

Conditions in Europe, as has been pointed out, differ considerably from conditions in Asian countries. At the same time, in the Asian countries and other countries too which are represented at this Conference we find varying conditions. Hence the standards adopted for Europe are our ideal, which we look forward to attaining at some date, which may be in the near future.

In my own country of Ceylon we have had considerable assistance from India and Indian leaders in bettering the conditions of labour. The amelioration of labour conditions in our country started only in 1915; it was begun by a body of young men, employers, who inaugurated an association called the Workers' Welfare League. Those men were in the happy position of being in touch with leaders of Indian thought. In 1918 in this great city of Delhi, at the Indian Social Service Conference, Ceylon was fortunate in that a resolution was moved by the present Governor of the United Provinces on various aspects of labour in our country. On that occasion there were ten supporters, one from Ceylon and nine from India. Today there are two of them in this hall, almost thirty years after that date. One happens to be the Indian representative in Ceylon, Mr. Giri, and the other happens to be myself.

(*Mr. Cresson takes the Chair.*)

As has been pointed out by previous speakers, our economy in Asian countries is entirely an agricultural economy. In our own country we stand or fall by the prices which we get for our primary products. Hence if there is any disinclination on the part of Governments to take immediate steps with regard to all the measures referred to in the resolution, or if there is any delay on the part of employers in carrying them out at the earliest possible opportunity, it will be entirely due, not to lack of desire, but to the economic conditions prevailing in Asian countries.

The most important part of this resolution, I feel, is the preamble, which is extremely full and exhaustive. The preamble refers to a number

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix III (3)*, pp. 210-220.

of matters which are concomitant to certain security measures and which should be taken up simultaneously. Reference is made to the low standard of life in Asian countries. In New Zealand, which is represented at this Conference, the average expectation of life is 65 years, while in this great continent it is as low as between 26 and 27. It is a very great gulf which lies between those two, and we look forward to that gulf being bridged within a very short time, due mainly to the resolutions at this Conference being implemented and carried out by the countries concerned.

Reference is also made in the preamble to the food situation and the necessity of procuring sufficient supplies of essential foodstuffs for the populations of the Asian countries. I believe that quite recently our great world leader, Mahatma Gandhi, suggested that controls should be removed in order to eliminate the middleman and the black-marketeer. Today we in most Asian countries, whether we be Governments or employers or employed, are merely cogs in the wheel of the great machine of controls. Once controls gradually go, we feel that matters will right themselves. We in our little isle feel that the best way of securing a plentiful supply of essential foodstuffs and eliminating the middleman is through co-operative methods. Co-operation started in Lanka 34 years ago. The progress was very slow till 1942, and in that year there were 90,000 members of co-operative societies, with a turnover of 12 million rupees. We are proud to state that five years after that, in 1947, we have a membership of 2,000,000 with a turnover of between 450 and 500 million rupees. Half the population of the country are members of co-operative societies. We feel that the future of Asia lies in the introduction of co-operation in all essential spheres.

With regard to the resolution I have not more than two or three words to say. Emphasis is laid on certain essential particulars and reference is made to various matters which have to be carried out before social security schemes are brought into operation. In most countries we find that we have come sometimes to the zenith with reference to some of these particular matters or to the very top of the ladder, while in other matters we have not even placed our foot on the bottom rung. As regards free education, in Ceylon we have compulsory free education up to and including university level. Medical care, too, is provided for. As much as between 38 and 40 per cent. Of the total revenue is spent this year on those two items. Nevertheless, in other matters we are considerably backward. With the help of the International Labour Organisation, which we have always taken an interest in, and of which we expect to be a full Member when we attain our full stature, and with the assistance and the advice of representatives from brother Asian countries, I can assure this Conference that all classes in our country, whether they be Government, employers or employed, will faithfully carry out the terms of this resolution.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*)—The Conference will, I feel certain, wish to place on record its gratitude to the Committee on Social Security, and especially to the Medical Care Subcommittee, for presenting them with a very valuable report and also with a resolution which, subject to one or two small points, will, I feel sure, command the unanimous support of the Conference.

I do not wish to discuss the report itself because that has already been done and no doubt will be done by other speakers. My purpose in coming

to the rostrum is to refer to the two amendments—amendments Nos. 1 and 3—which have been put forward by Dr. Malik, and which I understand have the support of the whole Workers' group in the Conference. I thought at first it was a little difficult and perhaps a little confusing to discuss these two amendments together, because they really have no connection with each other at all. But if I have understood Mr. Roberts correctly, the amendments deal more with the question of form than with the question of substance. Mr. Roberts, I think, said that but for the reference to the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care in paragraph 6 (a) of the resolution, it would not have been necessary to propose a reference to the report of that Subcommittee in paragraph 4 (c) of the resolution. Now, I have every sympathy with the view which says that we should not, if it can be avoided, mention in the resolution reports of committees or subcommittees. Like a good many other people, I have an instinctive dislike of what may be called legislation by reference. In the present case it means, if the report of the Medical Care Subcommittee is referred to, that the resolution is not complete in itself and in order to achieve even comparative tidiness, the report of the Medical Subcommittee must be attached to the resolution. Moreover, that sort of method of drafting a resolution must contain substantial difficulties for those who in future will have to interpret the terms of the resolution, because they will always have to be referring backwards and forwards to the report to which reference is made. I therefore should have been happy if no reference whatsoever were made to the report of the Medical Care Subcommittee in this resolution.

But if you look at these two proposed amendments and compare them, you will see that in fact they do not achieve what I understood was the object. In other words, amendment No. 3 would delete from the resolution all reference to the Medical Care Subcommittee, while amendment No. 1 would introduce a reference to the report of the Medical Care Subcommittee, so that what you delete in one place you reimport in another. It seems to me, therefore, that you are back at the original position.

Now there is, however, another objection which I can see to amendment No. 3. If it were agreed to by the Conference, paragraph 6 (a) of the resolution would read as follows: "Maternity benefits should be granted during maternity leave for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement or for a total period of three months"—and I understand that this is to be replaced by twelve weeks—"or for a total period of twelve weeks whichever is required by the woman concerned in consideration of her condition of health". Now, I am bound to say that I find paragraph 6 (a) seems extremely confusing, because I see no difference between two periods of six weeks and one period of twelve weeks. Therefore on those grounds alone I should have very great difficulty in supporting this particular amendment. If I may refer to Mr. Roberts again, he said, if I quote him correctly—I apologise if I am not accurate—that there would not have been any proposal to insert a reference to the report of the Medical Care Subcommittee in paragraph 6 (a) had there not already been a reference in paragraph 4 (c). I hope—here I am bound to say I am on delicate ground—I hope I am correct in interpreting that as meaning that if some way could be found of getting rid of the reference to the Medical Subcommittee's report in paragraph 6 (a), then the Workers' group might be willing not to press their amendment to paragraph 4 (c). In order to achieve that end, I am going to venture, completely on my own responsibility and without consulting anybody else in this Conference,

to make a suggestion. I would suggest that paragraph 6, if I may take paragraph 6 (a) first, should read as follows :

“ Maternity benefits should be granted during maternity leave before and after confinement for such periods not exceeding three months in all ” — I prefer three months to twelve weeks, if you do not like to call it thirteen weeks, which is really equivalent to three months— “ as are required by the health of the woman concerned. ”

It seems to me that this correctly interprets the report of the Medical Subcommittee as set out in paragraph 11 of that report, and without mentioning that report. If that amendment were agreeable to Dr. Malik and the Workers' group, so that they would agree to withdraw their amendment to paragraph 4 (c), then I think the Conference could probably come to a unanimous conclusion on this matter. If, however, the Workers' group are not willing to accept the proposed amendment and insist on putting forward both amendments Nos. 1 and 3, I am afraid I should feel compelled myself to vote against amendment No. 3 for the reasons which I have already given.

Mr. YAP (*Employers' adviser, Singapore*) — I shall say only a very few words to oppose amendment No. 3, submitted by the Workers' delegate of Pakistan. I am indifferent about amendment No. 1, because it has already been pointed out that this is only a matter of form and not substance and so I am prepared to let it go. I have not yet had the time to see the compromise that has been suggested. But if its spirit is in accordance with the views that I am now about to express, I am prepared to support this compromise.

What I feel is that it is futile and absolutely inadvisable to lay down a hard and fast rule in this matter of the period of rest required in cases of maternity, and that provisions for variation to meet particular needs and conditions are more to be desired. If the amendment proposed should be adopted, we would have a ruling that narrows down the application of maternity benefits to two alternatives only, that is: leave for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, which I have been advised by medical people is very difficult to determine; or alternatively, leave up to a total period of three months, which I submit at best is an arbitrarily laid down period regardless of actual needs or circumstances. In opposing this amendment, I am actuated by the motive of having a provision which is workable and practicable as well as comprehensive. I think what is important here is the adoption of the principle that maternity benefit should be in the form of an adequate period of rest for confinement. Having adopted that principle, I maintain that it is wiser and more desirable to leave the details of implementation to be decided by the actual needs and circumstances of each case. In moving the amendment the proposer tried to point out to us that the medical care report lays down only a period of two months as against the workers' demand of three months. This is not quite true. The medical care report does not try to fix a period, but merely states the medical view that for Asian countries experience has shown that a period of two months would be adequate, and further provides that if necessary the period could be extended. I do not want to take your time by reading the report, but I think I have interpreted it correctly. Furthermore, I feel that the workers,

by insisting on a rigid and arbitrary period for all countries in Asia now, may be jeopardising the employment of married women in Asia and even impeding the early adoption of maternity benefits under the existing conditions prevailing in Asia, where it cannot be said that there is any shortage of male workers or unmarried female workers.

Mr. V. K. R. MENON (*Government adviser, India*) — On the first amendment, regarding the addition proposed by the Workers' representative, I have no strong views, but I submit that the observations made by Sir G. Myrddin-Evans that a reference to a report in a resolution is rather out of place are—if I may say so—very valid. However, I do not press the matter very seriously, and I have no special objection. But what I really would like to say is regarding the third amendment, that is, relating to the duration of maternity benefits. The Government of India is in full agreement with the international standard laid down, that is, six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, and would support the amendment that the words "subject to the modifications indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care" should be deleted.

There has been a further suggestion by the Workers' representatives to make an addition, "or for a total period of twelve weeks, whichever is required by the woman concerned in consideration of her condition of health". I am not in favour of this addition, because the idea is that the woman should have an appropriate period of leave both before and after confinement. And if the general standard is six weeks before and six weeks after, it is not desirable to encourage the women to work until the last moment and then after confinement to ask for leave for a greater period than is necessary. I hope the mover of the amendment could be persuaded to withdraw that portion of his amendment by which he suggests adding these words; and if he agrees to do so, the Government of India would be ready to support this amendment. And I may add that in our Bill regarding health insurance for factory workers we have already made a provision for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)

ELEVENTH SITTING

Thursday, 6 November 1947, 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Pao

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY ¹: DISCUSSION (*concl.*) AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO)—We shall resume discussion on the report of the Committee on Social Security.

Sir SHRI RAM (*Employers' delegate, India*)—I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution of the Social Security Committee. Before I turn to the amendment moved by Dr. Malik, I would convey my grateful thanks to all those who have taken part in the discussions in this Committee. I do not think that many committees could carry on their discussion in such a good spirit between Workers', Employers' and Government representatives as this Committee did. On almost every point there was somehow a spirit of give-and-take and we came to satisfactory arrangements. I am sorry that on one point it was necessary for Dr. Malik to move an amendment. I would now request Dr. Malik to accept the position as it is at present in this country, and as also suggested in the Child-birth Convention: "six weeks before and six weeks after confinement". I would also request my colleagues of the Employers' group to accept that amendment in case Dr. Malik is—as I understand he is—prepared to agree to my request. It will then be a unanimous report. I am making this suggestion as I have been given the assurance that this is acceptable to Dr. Malik; otherwise I will have to stick to the suggestion made in the medical care report.

Mr. PATNAIK (*Government adviser, India*)—It is a matter for congratulation that the Government member for Pakistan has on behalf of the Committee on Social Security moved the resolution that had been originally tabled by the Government of India on social security, a resolution to secure freedom from want for everybody. Recommendations 67 and 69 concerning social security were adopted by the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia in 1944, but the same Conference adopted a Resolution concerning social security in Asian countries which held that the principles of social security applicable to European countries might not be the same as for Asian countries, and suggested that a regional conference of the Asiatic Member States of the International Labour Organisation should be convened to formulate appropriate principles of social security. Accordingly, in this Conference, held here on the invita-

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix III (3)*, pp. 210-220.

tion of the Government of India, we are discussing the problem of social security. The Government of India delegates formulated in their proposed resolution certain principles of social security as applicable to Asian countries, which were practically accepted by the Workers and Employers in the Committee. The Government of India also accepted most of the suggestions made by Employers and Workers, except just a few which it felt would embarrass other Governments.

The Government of India has submitted this resolution, because it felt that the political freedom which has already come to some Asian countries and which is coming to others, that is, freedom from foreign exploitation, is incomplete unless there is economic freedom for all. Therefore the delegates of the Government of India formulated their proposed resolution on social security, mentioning all the things which are connoted by that term, and they also made certain suggestions which are acceptable to employers and employees, as also to the Governments of other countries. The Government of India realises that freedom from want is the most essential thing required for all and therefore accepted all the amendments that were proposed by others.

It was suggested by certain members this morning that perhaps Governments will be tardy in giving effect to this resolution; that was why some wanted a time-limit also. But all countries are not in the same condition, and one Government, namely, the Government of India, would be embarrassing other Governments if it were to insist upon some time-limit within which social security measures were to be introduced. As a matter of fact, the Government of India has already introduced certain measures, and it has also got the trained personnel needed to introduce others. In fact, some of the Indian Government members of the Committee, for instance Mr. Keni, an expert on social security, have been of very great help to the Committee on Social Security. The brochure that he has produced, we are sure, will be helpful to the Government of India as a basis of discussion. We are certain that we will have social security measures complete, as far as industrial workers are concerned, and in operation throughout the country within four or five years. I am sure other countries will be following suit, and workers need not be afraid that their Governments will not put into practice these social security measures. On the contrary, the attitude of the Governments concerned at this Conference and in the Committee shows that they are serious about it. In spite of all other troubles, in spite of the equally important and urgent, if not more important, problems that are confronting our country, we are now having this Conference and we are adopting resolutions on social security and other matters. You are aware that after the attainment of freedom we are passing through many troubles and that many urgent problems confront us. The same is the case in other countries also. But despite this, the Governments realise that problems of labour are no longer a question of "employer *versus* employee" or "capitalist *versus* worker", but are the concern of every country. And the State has got to see that labour gets social security and other facilities. It is only then that production will be accelerated and we will rise to our fullest height.

Mr. BASHYAM (*Representative of the Indian States, Government delegation, India*) -- I rise to support the resolution, and if I may be permitted to strike a personal note, I wish to say that I feel very happy in supporting it.

We have been looking forward to a resolution of this kind for years upon years. It was several years ago that we in Mysore had prepared a health insurance and an unemployment insurance scheme ready for enforcement. But having regard to the conditions of labour throughout India in general, and in the adjoining provinces of Madras and Bombay in particular, we could not persuade either the employers or the Government to accept our scheme. We had therefore to content ourselves with the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Maternity Benefit Act. That illustrates, by the way, the truth of the dictum that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere". We had therefore to postpone the passing of the necessary legislation until the Government of India took up the matter and we could fall into line with them. I hope and believe that in view of this resolution, which I have no doubt will be passed by this Conference, the day will not be distant when the workers in Mysore, with the willing co-operation of the employers and the Government, will be able to secure these benefits in common with fellow-workers throughout Asia in general and throughout India in any case, and will be able not only to lead a life of economic contentment but also to command the respect of their fellow-men. In passing this resolution, we are merely discharging a duty which we owe to humanity. The dismal poverty, ignorance and disease, and the squalor and ugliness surrounding the lives of millions of our working-class population are a stain on human culture and civilisation. Sheer humanitarian considerations call for such a resolution and a rapid implementation of its contents. I need hardly add that it has not come a day too soon.

The economic repercussions of adopting this resolution and working it out are too inviting not to be envisaged with satisfaction. Every worker, male and female, enabled to lead a life of health and comfort, and honour and happiness, is an asset to the country. Production is bound to increase alongside efficiency. National wealth will increase side by side with the purchasing power of the masses. It was an utterly shortsighted policy that was pursued all these years, that of cutting down the wages, leave and other comforts of the workers to lower the cost of production, while as a matter of hard fact the worker became discontented and inefficient and production went down, and neither the employer nor the worker was happy, and the entire nation was starved into the bargain.

I attach particular value to this resolution as being most opportune in view of the political developments in our country, in India and Mysore alike. We are framing a Constitution today wherein every adult will have a vote and through it a hand in the administration of the country. The worker who is ignorant of his rights and duties, who is famished and unable to stand on his legs, will not only be unable to appreciate the vote ; he may easily be exploited against the country's interests by anyone interested in doing so. But if the resolution be accepted and acted upon, every worker will be able to assert his views, to understand his interests, to stand up for the interests of himself and the country, and can more readily resist temptations to betray himself and his fellow-men. True democracy cannot prevail as things are at present. I commend in this connection to your kind attention the words in the resolution, "the establishment of social security services are an essential condition of building up a genuine democratic society". This has become an urgent task, as expressed in the resolution, in view of the new Constitution based on adult franchise. Thus from every aspect—humanitarian, economic and political—the resolution is most commendable and I have

very great pleasure in supporting it. I deem it a privilege to participate in these proceedings, for I feel that if we can truly translate into action the ideas and ideals embodied in this resolution, we shall have brought life and light to millions of our fellow-men, than which I know no greater way of worshipping God. I therefore feel myself honoured in associating myself with this resolution and in requesting you to accord it your heartiest support.

Regarding the amendments, I have a word to add. Amendment No. 1 is a purely formal affair and I have nothing to say on it. Amendment No. 3 is an attempt in the right direction but, if I may humbly say so, the remedy suggested does not appeal to me. The original point in the resolution prescribing the period of six weeks before and six weeks after confinement subject to the modifications suggested by the Subcommittee on Medical Care appears to me to be more pious than practical. I have no doubt that most employers, barring very honourable exceptions, will defeat the claim for twelve weeks and fix it down to eight weeks, four before and four after confinement. Who is to decide whether the woman in question needs the extra two weeks' rest both before and after confinement? Whoever it be, the chances are that the woman will be tricked out of the benefit beyond the barest minimum, and we shall only be creating opportunities for clash and bitterness. I prefer therefore that the words, "subject to the modifications indicated in the Report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care" be deleted. It was suggested that if twelve weeks' benefit were granted to every woman worker who bore a child, employers would be chary of taking on women employees. I do not think so, for what the employer loses by way of maternity benefit he more than gains in the reduced wages he gives to the women. Apart from this there is the danger of the employer's agent discriminating between woman and woman in the matter of the grant of benefit for the additional period, which will mean another source of bitterness. More than all, I shall not be sorry if married women are not taken on as employees. Having a husband, a married woman's place of duty is more the home than the factory. The question of bearing children and securing maternity benefit does not arise, I take it, in other cases, nor should it in a properly constituted society. I therefore commend the deletion of the words as suggested above, retaining the duration of maternity benefit at six weeks before and six weeks after confinement.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — I will now call upon Dr. Malik to reply to the discussion on the amendments moved by him.

Dr. MALIK (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — Sir, with regard to my third amendment on maternity benefit I do not want to speak at length. I accept the amendment put forward by Mr. Menon, of the Indian Government delegation, which was supported by Sir Shri Ram. With regard to my first amendment, which refers to paragraph 4 (c) of the resolution, Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans said that in the amendment I have referred to the recommendations made by the Medical Care Subcommittee. That is true. But I am not a draftsman and I did not know that the amendment should not have been put in this order. I went through the resolution as finally drafted and I found that in the text of that final resolution in another place such references were made. So I also submitted my amendment in the same order. My main idea was this. In paragraph 9 of the Medical Care Subcommittee's report you find this :

"Where local conditions make the establishment of such factory hospitals practicable or desirable, and where no public facilities exist within easy reach in an adequate and suitable form, the following provision is recommended as the minimum desirable :

- (a) for any factory employing say 500 persons, an outdoor dispensary ;
- (b) where the number is approximately 10,000, either in one factory or a group of adjacent factories, there should be, in addition, a hospital providing indoor and outdoor treatment and maternity facilities including ante-natal and post-natal care, and child welfare."

This recommendation was fortunately accepted by the main Committee and the idea was that it should come in the body of the resolution. I thought that this was really an omission. The I.L.O. officials or Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans will clarify the position as to how, if we as members of the Committee want to incorporate this in the resolution which we desire to be implemented and ratified, this can be inserted in the body of the resolution. If it can be provided in some part of the resolution that this recommendation of the Medical Care Subcommittee should be implemented, that will satisfy me. And I think my colleagues on the Medical Care Subcommittee as well as on the main Committee will agree with me that we have had no difference on this subject either in the Committee or here. Because of a mere technical difficulty the proposal should not fall through.

I formally withdraw my third amendment and accept the amendment of Mr. Menon.

The REPRESENTATIVE of the SECRETARY-GENERAL (Mr. STACK) --- The [status of the recommendations of the Subcommittee on Medical Care is laid down clearly in the report. The report of the Committee as a whole states that the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care and the recommendations of that Subcommittee are adopted by the Committee. As you will see, the report of the Committee has two annexes. The first annex is the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care, a report which is not couched in quite the same language or style as the main resolution, because there are a number of saving clauses and descriptions and so on in it. But that report of the Subcommittee is part of the document submitted for the approval of this Conference in just the same way as the resolution itself. Consequently, if and when the Conference adopts the report and the resolution, it will also have adopted integrally the contents of the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care. In these circumstances it does not seem to be indispensable to include in the resolution this first amendment, which would add a particular reference to certain of the recommendations of the Medical Care Subcommittee.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — In view of Mr. Stack's explanation, I want to know whether the mover of this amendment is satisfied.

Dr. MALIK (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I am really sorry that I am again taking your time. I wanted to know from the Office its advice as to how our unanimous recommendation in the main Committee

could be implemented or incorporated in the body of the final resolution. I am sorry I cannot understand the position, and to me the point has not been clarified by what Mr. Stack has said.

My point is that provision for an out-patient department and an indoor-patient department is there, and was carried unanimously in the Committee, but has been attached here as an appendix to the report of the Committee. A report of the Committee and a resolution passed by a Conference are not the same thing to my mind. I do not understand how it can be taken that the Medical Care Subcommittee's recommendations or the Committee's recommendations, as adumbrated in the report of the Committee, are as good as incorporated in the resolution. I wanted that provision to be incorporated in the text, and the idea at the back of our minds was whether it could possibly be incorporated in the body of the final resolution.

As that has not been properly clarified, and as I am myself not satisfied, I wish that the amendment should be put to the vote.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — We will now vote on amendment No. 1 moved by Dr. Malik. The amendment reads :

“ At the end of paragraph 4 (c) of page 3 add ‘ in accordance with the recommendations of the Medical Care Subcommittee ’ . ”

(A vote is taken by show of hands.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — The result of the vote is as follows : for, 15 ; against, 15. The amendment is therefore rejected.

Dr. MALIK (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I ask for a record vote.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — According to the Standing Orders of this Conference, Article 11, paragraph 5, “ a record vote shall also be taken when a request to that effect is made by not less than ten delegates present at the sitting ” .

(A list of ten delegates is handed to the President.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — Dr. Malik has got ten delegates to support his motion to have a record vote. We will now take the final vote on amendment No. 1 to the resolution on social security. The Clerk of the Conference will call the roll.

Record vote on the amendment to paragraph 4 (c) of the proposed resolution on social security, submitted by the Pakistan Workers' delegate

For (15)

<i>Governing Body of the International Labour Office :</i>	<i>India :</i>
Mr. Joshi (W)	Mr. Khedgikar (W)
<i>Australia :</i>	<i>Malayan Union :</i>
Mr. Toms (G)	Mr. Sivasambu (W)
Mr. Monk (W)	<i>Netherlands Union :</i>
<i>Burma :</i>	Dr. Koets (G)
Mr. Lwin (W)	Mr. Pantouw (G)
<i>Ceylon :</i>	<i>New Zealand :</i>
Dr. C. J. C. De Silva (W)	Mr. Grant (W)
<i>China :</i>	<i>Pakistan :</i>
Mr. Liu (W)	Dr. Malik (W)
<i>Laos :</i>	<i>Singapore :</i>
Mr. Souvannavong (W)	Mr. Lim (W)
	<i>United Kingdom :</i>
	Mr. Roberts (W)

Against (14)

<i>Australia :</i>	<i>Malayan Union :</i>
Mr. Kevin (E)	Mr. Houghton (G)
<i>Burma :</i>	Mr. Edwards (E)
Mr. Grey (E)	<i>Netherlands Union :</i>
<i>China :</i>	Baron Van Eck (E)
Mr. Wu (E)	<i>New Zealand :</i>
<i>France :</i>	Mr. Hanlon (E)
Mr. Janssens (E)	<i>Singapore :</i>
Mr. Bouzanquet (W) ¹	Mr. Bingham (G)
<i>India :</i>	Mr. Handy (G)
Sir Shri Ram (E)	Mr. Cresson (E)
	<i>United Kingdom :</i>
	Mr. Gavin (E)

¹ After the declaration of the vote, the Workers' delegate of France requested that it should be mentioned in the *Record* that his intention had been not to vote *Against* but to abstain.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — The result of the vote is as follows : for, 15 ; against, 14 ; abstentions, 19. The amendment is therefore adopted.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — I understand that the mover of amendment No. 3 has agreed to withdraw it and to substitute the amendment proposed by Mr. Menon. I would ask Mr. Roberts, who seconded the original amendment, whether he agrees.

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*) — I seconded only the first amendment. I did not second the third amendment.

Mr. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — I supported it. I agree to the new amendment.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — Is there any opposition to this amendment ?

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Government delegate, United Kingdom*) — This morning I ventured to make a suggestion which I hoped would meet the views of the Conference generally. It has not met the views of the Conference generally, and I do not want to pursue that, although it was in the form of an amendment to the amendment. I would only say, in regard to the amendment put forward by the Government of India and now accepted by Dr. Malik, that it seems to be the least satisfactory method of all of dealing with this problem because it makes the periods completely rigid without any flexibility whatsoever. For that reason I think I shall have to vote against the amendment.

Dr. MALIK (*Workers' delegate, Pakistan*) — I did not wish to take up your time again. In moving the amendment regarding maternity benefit, I did not give the arguments in its favour because I thought that there was agreement between us and the other two groups. However, I requested the President that I should be given the chance to speak at the end when the discussion was closed. Unfortunately Sir Guildhaume has raised a point, and I want to put the amendment to vote. I draw the attention of the President, as well as of Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., to the fact that in an international labour Convention it is already laid down that six weeks before and six weeks after confinement should be the period of maternity leave. I do not know the legal position, but a Convention is already there, a Convention which was passed, not in a preparatory conference or in a regional conference, but in a full Conference at Washington. In the face of that I do not understand why we should take a backward step. The world is moving and progressing and, at this stage, after passing that Convention, when our leaders in different countries are trying their best to ratify the I.L.O. Conventions and resolutions in their own ways, at a time when our different Governments are considering earnestly how far they can implement all the Conventions and Recommendations, I am sorry there is a move that we should fix the minimum at eight weeks. You know how ill-fed and ill-clad the women of the Asian countries are. Someone put forward the other day the argument that our women go back to work even after one week. I do not agree to that. If for women of European countries, who are in better health, much better than ours, who eat two meals every day, who are accustomed to a more hygienic

life and are considered to be in a better position in social life—if for them six weeks' rest before and six weeks' after confinement, was considered necessary, I cannot understand why in Asian countries—where women are in much poorer health, where the population is gradually deteriorating in regard to its hygienic condition, where child mortality and maternal mortality are so high, where the women are so ignorant and illiterate that they have to be told “you are in such a condition that you should take rest”—we should take a retrograde step and put the minimum at two months or eight weeks. Not only that. In the amendment which Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans put forward, if you examine the wording, you will find that to get that extra four weeks of leave, each individual will have to go to a professional medical man and get a certificate. My colleagues of the Asian countries know well how difficult it is for our women to go to a male doctor, particularly in this country, where there is a dearth of women doctors. They are very reluctant to go to male doctors and get themselves examined during pregnancy and find out whether they require two months' leave or three months' leave. After much consideration the I.L.O. experts in former years, when they passed the Childbirth Convention, obtained the opinion of medical experts. I think that medical opinion in the world has not changed since; and especially in this Asian Conference we must give proper consideration to the health of our women and our children. I request you therefore to consider these points: first, these arguments, and then the technical difficulty. I hope the Legal Adviser of the Conference will explain whether, in face of having a Convention already in the International Labour Code, this move is legally and properly in order, or whether if we accept this amendment of Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, it would in any way hamper the ratification of the Childbirth Convention. If so, I would again request my friends here to consider thrice before they cast their vote.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — Now I put amendment No. 3 to the vote. This amendment reads:

“ In paragraph 6 (a) delete ‘subject to the modifications indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care’.”

(A vote is taken by show of hands.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — The result of the vote is as follows: for, 16; against, 15. The amendment is adopted.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. PAO) — In the absence of any opposition to the report with annexes, I consider the report and annexes, as amended, as adopted.

(The report and annexes, as amended, are adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 5.45 p.m.)

TWELFTH SITTING

Friday, 7 November 1947, 10.45 a.m.

Presidents: Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Cresson

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOUR POLICY¹: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT — Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Chairman of the Committee on Labour Policy, will make some opening remarks on the report of the Committee.

Mr. NANDA (*Substitute Government delegate, India*), *Chairman of the Committee on Labour Policy* — May I give a brief survey of the work of the Committee on Labour Policy as its Chairman? That very pleasant duty should have been performed by the Honourable Mahn Wim Maung, the Minister for Labour in the Government of Burma, who was originally elected as Chairman of this Committee. For unavoidable reasons, he had to return to his country and to relinquish charge of this office, which was thereafter entrusted to me. Before I proceed to indicate the nature of the proposals which the Committee considered and eventually adopted, I should like to share with the Conference some of the happy impressions which the days of my association with the work of the Committee have created in my mind. I find in the work of the Committee which I watched and conducted as its Chairman a complete justification for the departure which has led to the holding of this Conference in India as a prelude to further sessions in the Asian region. Among the members present one could observe a community of outlook, a background of practically uniform experience and a sense of urgency. We were convinced that we felt the same aspirations, shared the same handicaps and were contending with similar difficulties. There was no great disparity felt either in the level of our needs or in the nature of our objectives. That made it possible for the members to know and understand one another without any difficulty. It made the progress of the Committee quick and smooth and the tasks of the officers altogether easy. In this connection, may I also bear witness to the wonderful spirit of mutual goodwill and helpfulness which prevailed during the entire course of the proceedings of the Committee, to which all the three groups contributed fully and equally.

The Committee had before it a heavy agenda; not less than 24 proposed resolutions had been remitted for the Committee's consideration and some of the resolutions covered several sheets of typed matter. In the early stages, all of us became apprehensive whether we could get through the business within the scheduled time, but the representatives

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix IV (3)*, pp. 243-249.

of the various groups vied with one another in speeding up the progress of the Committee's work. Every side practised restraint and evinced a high degree of capacity for accommodation. The Workers' representatives were always prepared to adjust their viewpoints so as to bring them within the visible limits of practicability and resources of the Asian countries. The members of the Employers' group were always found anxious to lend their support to all practicable measures calculated to improve the conditions and increase the wellbeing of the workers of all categories. There was just one single point of disagreement between them which had to be settled by a vote. The good offices of the members of the Government group were always available to both the sides. The desire to understand and appreciate one another's point of view, which was a prominent feature of the deliberations of the Committee, is an auspicious augury for the successful implementation of the schemes for the advancement of labour which are being formulated at this Conference. The work of this Committee has been for me an encouraging and stimulating experience, which brought back to my mind the atmosphere of the International Labour Conference at Geneva. I have carried back from there a vivid recollection of the distinctive aroma of harmonious co-operation which fills the committee rooms of the International Labour Office. Not that in Geneva there was no stretching or pulling in different directions at various times, but always the dominant feeling was to do a useful job quickly in order to promote the peace and progress of humanity. It is a matter for gratification that this most welcome and hopeful feature of the work of the International Labour Office was reproduced in full in the proceedings of this Committee. I may add here with great pleasure that this is also the experience of the other committees of this Conference.

The Committee on Labour Policy is placing before the Conference 11 resolutions in all, which have resulted from a process of collation and amalgamation at the hands of the subcommittee of the Labour Policy Committee which was constituted as the working party. I may incidentally mention here that this proved to be a very helpful and time-saving procedure. The resolutions adopted by the Committee cover a very wide range of subjects, relating to employment services, recruitment, vocational training, wage policy, housing, conditions of work, labour welfare and co-operation. They embrace various types and categories of labour, including aboriginal tribes, untouchable castes, women, children and young persons, and the workers engaged in rural areas, plantations and small-scale cottage and handicraft industries. This set of resolutions together with the proposals which have emanated from other committees provide a comprehensive policy and a substantial programme of activity for the Asian countries. It will be evident from a study of the text of the resolutions that the twofold aim of promoting the wellbeing of the working class and developing the requisite material basis and resources, has been steadily kept in view in the formulation of this policy and programme. The interdependence of the two factors has been given full recognition.

A keen sense of our backwardness in the matter of industrialisation is responsible for the stress laid on the utility of vocational and technical training and the insistence on placing within the reach of Asian nations wider opportunities for acquiring higher technical experience and the requisite skills. The proposal regarding employment services aims both at a more effective use of the manpower of each nation and at the provision of a much needed facility for the workers. Owing to the peculiar

conditions in several parts of the Asian region, certain abuses have crept into the system of recruitment, to remove which the nations concerned have already taken a series of steps. A good deal, however, still remains to be done. A section of the resolution relating to recruitment, seeks to eradicate the evils within the shortest practicable period. The resolution on wage policy points out the double need for improving the wage standards and for developing a suitable machinery, preferably on a voluntary basis, for fixing fair wages and making cost-of-living adjustments. For the latter purpose, it is recommended that family budget enquiries should be instituted at regular intervals. Another resolution recalls the primary importance of the human element in industry and visualises action to secure for the workers fair and well-defined conditions of work, reasonable security of tenure and opportunities for advancement consistent with the maintenance of efficiency. The resolution on protection of children and young persons is a minute catalogue of the measures necessary for ensuring the health, welfare and education of this section of the community, among them being the expansion of compulsory free education up to a general minimum age for admission to employment, coupled with provision for continuation courses and the development of a network of free technical and vocational schools conducted by properly qualified personnel and run in accordance with uniform standards adapted to various requirements. Control and regulation of apprenticeship is urged. Special attention is given to the needs of children and young persons engaged in non-industrial employment, which usually remains without—or is slow to win—the measure of protection enjoyed by industrial workers. The resolution relating to women deals with maternity protection and calls for the provision of crèches and day nurseries and of additional social services, such as canteens, milk and essential clothing. There are special provisions for the protection of health of women workers engaged in heavy labour and for the provision of facilities for vocational training and the spread of literacy. Full application of the principle of equal pay for equal work is advocated. The social and economic problems of rural workers, the question of forced labour, the prevailing systems of land tenure, the conditions of plantation labour and the special disabilities of aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes have been treated in three separate resolutions. A resolution is devoted to the very important question of housing. Note is taken of the extremely unsatisfactory and worsening conditions in which the vast mass of workers in the countries of Asia are housed; and an emphatic plea is made for immediate and effective action to provide suitable houses for workers as the essential basis of their health and efficiency. One resolution touches on a question of very deep interest to Asian countries, namely, the prospects of expansion of small-scale cottage and handicraft industries and the need for directing their development on healthy lines. The last resolution concerns itself with the potentialities of co-operation and gives the lines on which it can be developed effectively.

In this rapid survey I have indicated very briefly the objectives which are outlined in the resolutions offered by the Labour Policy Committee to the Conference. There is ample material here for a many-sided programme of immediate as well as long-range action. Action on these resolutions is the direct concern of the people and of the Governments of the Asian countries, but the resolutions would also create a long string of obligations for the International Labour Office, which is called upon to carry out investigations and studies in respect of a large number and

variety of questions. The task being set for the I.L.O. is huge indeed. So also is the need of the people who are affected. They have a good claim on the services of the I.L.O. There is no doubt that it will rise to the occasion and equip itself adequately for its enlarged function.

I shall close my remarks with an expression of my deep admiration for the members of the staff of the I.L.O. who assisted the Committee and but for whose intensive application at practically all hours of the day and night it would not have been possible to produce this report in the allotted period.

Mr. HAH (*Government adviser, China*), *Reporter of the Committee on Labour Policy* — The Committee on Labour Policy held altogether nine sittings. Owing to the nature of the problems, it was decided to classify the resolutions in order to facilitate discussion. On the recommendation of the Selection Committee a working party was set up, composed of the officers representative of each of the three groups and the representative of the Secretary-General. The working party prepared from day to day working drafts, which were introduced and discussed in the full Committee.

Mr. MONK (*Workers' delegate, Australia*) — As leader of the Workers' group in the Labour Policy Committee, I commend the report to you and hope that it will be unanimously adopted as the first step in the Asian countries to give some social and economic justice to the workers of the countries that are represented here. I feel constrained, as one who has travelled in many parts of the world and seen both sides of it on a number of occasions during the last two or three years, to make some observations which I feel are necessary because they have a bearing on what I consider to be the possibility of bringing about an early accomplishment of the objects of the resolutions which are before you.

Many Asian countries have now received their political freedom. Political freedom to me does not matter much unless it brings also with it economic freedom for the country. Now, I feel constrained to point out that political anarchy leads in the first place to the utter impossibility of adopting revolutionary means for achieving economic freedom. Political freedom, I venture to suggest, involves the responsibility of the people in the countries which have achieved such freedom to so stabilise their political freedom that industrial and agricultural development takes place. Recent political history clearly shows that where you have political anarchy, it is followed quickly by industrial anarchy. One is a natural corollary of the other. I also wish to point out that where attempts are made to have industrial equilibrium, and not industrial anarchy, there is of necessity a development of legalised collective bargaining. Experience shows that where collective bargaining is given not as a legal right but conceded by employers as an encouragement, there is less industrial anarchy and more controlled action. It is true, and will always be true, that legalised bargaining will not stop a breach between employers' and employees' organisations. But where you have legalised collective bargaining, at least there is on the part of the employers some national organisation which can deal with industrial disputes. And on the other hand, where you have national workers' organisations, you have some control and can determine what are the agreements which should be reached.

Having said that, I now turn to another important factor in formulating a labour policy. One cannot pass through an Asian country without being struck by the primitive methods of production, both in the agricultural and in the secondary industries of that country. That means that before you can have revolutionary changes in social and labour policies, there will have to be a change in the methods of production, both in agricultural and in secondary industries. I come from a country whose economy is based upon both. In Australia we have an economy such as I consider has to be developed in India and the main Central Asian countries. But before you can develop such an economy on an extensive scale by changing your methods of production, there has to be a huge expenditure on capital goods in the Asian countries. You must purchase new machinery; you must alter your methods of production; you must have better management; and the workers must become more industrious in the occupations that are necessary to achieve that economy.

Reference was made in another committee yesterday to the purchase of capital goods. What is facing the world today—not only in Asian countries but in all other countries, with the exception of America and Britain, which can produce some capital goods necessary for them—is this conflict between expenditure on capital goods and expenditure on consumer goods. That is a difficulty confronting every country in the world today and it is not special to the Asian world alone. It is an aftermath of the war. Tired machines in America, Britain and every other highly industrialised country in the world have to be replaced, and new machines and new capital goods have to be purchased. For instance, for a proper development of agricultural industry in this country, it is quite obvious that irrigation schemes have to be launched and agricultural machinery and artificial manures have to be purchased. Similarly, in secondary industries, capital goods must be purchased for the development of those industries.

When we come to increasing the living standards, I may be permitted to say that it is the right of every worker in all countries of the world to participate in the increased national dividend due to the new forms of economic development and to the higher production that occurs in each country. Shorter hours, for instance, cannot be brought about without a proper appreciation of the need for mechanisation of industry and for better methods of production to give a more highly developed degree of skill of the worker himself. But you cannot have increased skill through secondary education without having a proper impetus to primary education through your ordinary educational system. So one must go with the other, and I suggest that the expenditure on social schemes is going to be a huge problem for most Asian countries.

Similarly, with regard to inspection. There should be proper inspection of factories both in regard to conditions of health and also to see that other restrictions are properly applied. It is all very well to pass an Act of Parliament saying that you are going to have factory inspection, but it is the administration of such Acts which counts. One of our former Prime Ministers said: "I don't care what Act of Parliament you pass, provided you give the administration of it to me." We have had our difficulties in regard to the administration of factory inspection. That shows why the Asian countries must not only pass legislation in regard to factory inspection but have got to set up a very efficient and properly tested system of appointment, to ensure that they get the right type of factory inspector who is capable of interpreting the laws.

Similarly, in regard to wages, a nominal increase in wages means nothing to the industrial worker. All that matters to the worker in any country is whether he is really benefited. The labour policy set forth in the resolutions now before you seeks to ensure that the real standards of the worker progressively increase, and not merely to result in a nominal increase in wage. In Australia we have a system of automatic adjustment of wages each three months to the increased cost of living. I commend that system to the Asian countries. There are two forms in which labour policy can be applied. The first is through legislation. In Australia, we do not have what is adopted in many other countries—unemployment insurance. All our social services are met out of consolidated revenue. Legislation covers old-age pensions, invalid pensions, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment benefits and sick benefits. On the other hand, through our arbitration machinery and through our courts, we give other benefits. We expect very shortly to secure the general introduction of the forty-hour week. During the last few years we have been able to obtain a uniform two weeks' annual leave. We have increased our basic wages in every direction, and we also have secured during the last few months an increase in marginal rates for all workers in Australia. You will probably ask me after these observations what the Australian Government has done to assist the workers in the mandated territories which we control. Recently we have abolished the professional recruiter throughout the mandated territories we control, and have made these simple Government agencies. Secondly we have fixed a minimum wage for all the Native workers in those territories, and more particularly for those of New Guinea. So we can say we have made some attempt to assist the workers in the areas over which we have some control.

In conclusion I want to express the opinion that all countries represented here, and all sections represented here, should do their level best to implement the resolutions proposed by the Labour Policy Committee and to see that they are not simply passed as pious resolutions but implemented by the Governments assisted by the employers in the countries that are represented here.

Finally, I want to say this. I have noticed in quite a number of these conferences an inclination on the part of some of the Asian sections represented to be suspicious of people who do not actually come from Asiatic countries. I am farther east than most of you represented here. I came here as a representative of the workers of Australia with one idea. That was not to be a hindrance in the work of this Conference, but, as far as I possibly could, to assist Asian workers in increasing their standard of living; and I say this to all sections represented here: drop this atmosphere of suspicion and realise that those who do not come from Asian countries are imbued with only one object in coming to the Conference, that is, to assist you as far as we possibly can in doing what you want to do.

Mr. PERERA (*Employers' adviser, Ceylon*) — I have much pleasure on behalf of the Employers' group in supporting the adoption of the report presented by the Committee on Labour Policy. In doing so, I would like firstly to associate myself with the Chairman of the Committee in expressing our very keen appreciation of the valuable assistance given to us by the staff of the International Labour Office, but for whose efforts I am afraid we would still be in the course of considering the numerous and voluminous resolutions which were referred to us by the Selection Committee.

I would like firstly to refer to the very real co-operation and goodwill which existed in the Committee between the members of all the groups, as well as to the practical understanding and the sober realisation of the difficulties and problems which face Asian countries in achieving the objectives which, as the deliberations of the Committee showed, we were all agreed were objectives which should be realised by Asian countries.

In regard to the resolutions themselves, they cover eleven subjects and to my mind they fall into three groups. One group lays down the standards which we are all agreed should be reached in Asian countries as soon as it is practicable. The second refers to certain systems and practices which obtain in Asian countries and stand in the way of the economic and social progress of those countries. And, finally, the third group refers to problems which are peculiar to Asian countries, particularly in regard to the agricultural population, which forms the predominant portion of the peoples of Asia.

As for the first group—the labour standards which we believe and agree must be reached by Asian countries — the country I represent, Ceylon, has perhaps been more fortunate than other countries in that for economic and other reasons we have been able to adopt and implement many of the standards laid down by the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation. We have in Ceylon maternity benefits, regulation of wages, hours of work, annual holidays, and so on. And if I may refer to a point made by my friend Mr. Monk from Australia, our wage regulation scheme provides, as is done in Australia, for the periodical adjustment of wages to the cost of living. In point of fact, this adjustment is made once a month.

There are two matters which my friend Mr. Monk referred to on which I would take the liberty of agreeing with him. The first is the question of production. There is no doubt that no real progress in these matters can be made in Asian countries unless there is an increase in production, both national and individual. And in this, it can only be the joint and co-operative action of all the three groups, Government, employers and workers, that can achieve the objectives which this Conference has laid down for the future. Governments can initiate the development of undeveloped areas and the commencement of new industries as well as assist existing industries to intensify production. Employers in their turn can by reorganisation and by adoption of more economic and modern methods intensify production; and workers themselves can by co-operating therein increase production to the level which will be necessary to enable us to achieve the objectives referred to in the resolutions. If I may say so without being controversial, I think there should be a realisation by the workers that their interests, particularly in the matter of increased production, are the same as the interests of the employers, and that it is to the benefit not merely of the two groups, or the two sections of the population, but of the community at large that there should be not merely an increase in production nationally, but an increase in the production of every individual.

The other matter which my friend Mr. Monk referred to was collective bargaining and collective agreements. Although I agree that it is the right and the duty of Governments to intervene, in the interest of the community at large, in matters which affect employers and workers, to my mind collective bargaining and collective agreements are the best means and the best guarantee of the industrial peace which is necessary

to economic and social progress. Collective agreements are not merely the result of goodwill and co-operation, but carry with them an assurance and promise of goodwill and co-operation for the future. If I may refer to my own country again, we have in the past few months started machinery for the completion of collective agreements. I am glad to say that it is the organisation which I represent which is giving a lead in this matter. And the few months' experience that we have had of the working of this machinery, which is a joint council of the Whitley pattern, makes it perfectly clear that it is the best means of solving the disputes which do arise and will always arise between employers and workers.

Before I close there is just one point which I should like to refer to and which I hope will not be taken as controversial. The main object of all our resolutions on labour policy is to increase the standards of living of the workers, and through them of the peoples of Asia. I agree again with my friend Mr. Monk that the workers are entitled to their fair share of production and, in regard particularly to the peoples of Asia, to achieve as soon as possible a fair and decent standard of living. The point I wish to commend to my friends in the Workers' group is the education of workers to make a more profitable use of their leisure and of their purchasing power for the benefit of themselves and their families, to raise their own standards and not to fritter away any increase in their purchasing power either on swelling the black market or on excessive and unnecessary expenditure on social occasions.

To conclude, I think this Conference has achieved much ; but very much more remains to be done when we return to our own countries. And I most earnestly hope that in the discussions and deliberations which must necessarily take place in our own countries for the implementation of the resolutions that have been passed at this Conference, all groups will continue to show the co-operation and goodwill and the practical understanding of problems and difficulties which have characterised not merely the work of the committees here but — if I may say so — of this Conference itself.

Mr. BRAHME (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I have great pleasure in according my support to the Committee's report. I have certain observations to make regarding the resolution about wage policy in particular. The resolution rightly points out that every effort should be made to achieve a living wage for the workers in all industries and occupations. The need for securing a living wage to the worker in Asian countries is supreme, as the wages of workers all over the Asian region in all industries and occupations are miserably low. The last World War brought great hardships to the workers. It further lowered the already substandard earnings of the workers. The workers put up with these hardships during the war period because such sacrifices were absolutely essential to win the war for democracy and peace, and because they were promised a new social order and a new era based on peace and plenty once the war was over. It is estimated on the basis of Government statistics that the real earnings of the workers in India went down between 20 and 50 per cent. between 1939 and 1946. The conditions in other countries of the Asian region, I believe, are no better, if not worse.

While the war meant heroic sacrifices for the workers and the peoples in different countries, it gave immense opportunities for the industrialists and employers to mint huge profits. The post-war period has shown a further rise in prices, with consequent deterioration in the real wages

of the workers in most Asian countries. This lowering of the wages and conditions of work has been mainly responsible for the unprecedented strike-wave during the post-war period. If we examine the cause, at least in India, of these strikes, we find that more than 50 per cent. of them have been for increased wages and allied reasons.

It is in the fitness of things that we are taking up this resolution on wage policy in the Committee's report after having unanimously adopted the resolution on increased production. The present resolution is, in a way, of a complementary nature to the one on production which we passed the other day. If production is to be increased, those responsible for production—the producers, the workers—have to be properly fed and properly clothed. They should have sufficient incentive to run the wheels of production. Unless this is done, all talk of increased production will merely be moonshine. Increased production, which is so very essential today for all the Asian countries, can only be achieved by active and willing co-operation of the parties that produce the necessary goods. What does the worker demand today? He does not ask for the moon in the heavens. He wants a living wage. He refuses to work under starvation wages. I would just ask who else has the right to get a living standard if the worker and producer does not get it. Hungry stomachs and wretched conditions of life are the greatest impediments to continuing and, much more, to increasing production. I would like the Governments and the employers to see this question of taking immediate steps to secure a living wage to the worker from this wider and broader social point of view. I would therefore urge upon the Governments to take immediate steps to substantially raise the real wages of the worker so as to bring them to a living wage level in a period of five years.

I am glad that the resolution requests the Governments to take an active part in fixing and enforcing fair wages. I hope the employers will realise the advantages of collective bargaining and give up their traditional opposition to the trade unions and recognise them, so as to facilitate collective bargaining and lessen stoppages in production.

Dealing with the question of wage boards, I would like to point out that they should be appointed for all industries. Wage boards, in my opinion, should be composed of an equal number of workers' and employers' representatives with an independent chairman. I hope the Governments of the various countries represented in this Conference will bear this suggestion in mind.

While wholeheartedly supporting this resolution on wage policy, I would like to emphasise that the crying need of the hour is progress and rapid action in the direction of levelling up the wages of the workers so as to bring them to a living wage standard. The question cannot be delayed any longer, if we have to enthuse the workers who are really responsible for production. All talk of production and removing shortages will remain on paper unless and until immediate action is taken to raise the real wages of the workers. I hope the Governments represented at this Conference will realise this and take quick action in this direction.

Finally, as the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, rightly pointed out when addressing the Conference the other day :

“ Behind those labour troubles are ... certain conditions which necessarily lead to that state of mind which results in labour troubles. We are facing a serious crisis. ”

Let us see this writing on the wall and take action in time so that the conditions which foster this mentality may be removed root and branch and the crisis averted.

Mr. DALVI (*Workers' adviser, India*) — The resolution on rural labour and related problems is one of the most important resolutions, in my opinion, which this Conference has been called upon to consider. This resolution affects the destiny of more than half the working population of the world. The problems of rural or agricultural labour are very similar in all Asian countries. Unfortunately, agricultural workers have not so far been organised, and therefore their grievances, the betterment of their lot and measures for their improvement have not figured prominently in the deliberations of the International Labour Organisation.

In the resolution adequate representation for the Asian region on the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the I.L.O. has been proposed, and I am sure that that Committee will deal with the many problems connected with the improvement of the lot of the agricultural worker. To us in India and in other Asian countries which are on the road to freedom, the problem is not only social and economic but also political. India is on the way to democracy, and you cannot have a true democracy unless your worker, particularly the rural or agricultural worker, who is the foundation of your democracy, is properly educated, and his economic lot what it should be ; therefore, as I said, it is not only a social and economic problem but also a political question for us. We have neglected this problem for a very long time and we have got a considerable leeway to make up. The problem is urgent : it cannot wait. Therefore, we must accelerate the speed with which we tackle this problem. I believe that an ounce of action is better than a ton of recommendations and programmes. I would therefore like our Governments to have an immediate programme, apart from the short-term programme (which is referred to in the resolution), and apart also from the long-term programme, which of course will take a long time. We must have immediate action, and for that purpose we have got the necessary guidance and principles laid down in this resolution.

The problems of the agriculturist are mainly — speaking again with reference to India, which I know best—the impoverishment of the land, the absence of cheap credit, the pressure of the population on land, uneconomic holdings and, lastly, the feudal systems of land tenure. These are some of the main problems affecting the agricultural worker or the primary producer. We also find in some parts of India that, because the land does not yield enough to maintain the worker and his family, he is forced to leave his village and go to the nearest industrial town and get himself employed as an industrial worker. Now, that state of affairs is not conducive either to the physical improvement of the worker or to his domestic life. He is away from his home for quite a considerable period in the year ; he is away from his children and wife. He has practically no domestic life.

Another important factor in connection with the agricultural worker is that of the parasitic middleman. We have got a number of middlemen who practically live on the produce of the agriculturist. There is also the village moneylender. Apart from the question of improvement and intensification of production, which are more or less technical problems and which will no doubt be dealt with by the Permanent Agricultural Committee, these other questions can be tackled by our respective Governments

without waiting for the short-term programme, which will take anywhere between three and five years. For instance, the middleman can easily be eliminated by introducing a system of co-operative distribution. We have got co-operative societies, but they are not many; and if we have a network of distributive co-operative societies, which would bring the consumer and the producer nearer together, at least a part of the middleman's profit will go to the producer. The same thing applies to the village moneylender. We should have in every village a shop at which the agriculturist could buy all his necessities of life at the cheapest possible cost. The other requirement, of course, is cheap credit, and that also can be provided by co-operative credit societies.

The resolution also refers to the development of small-scale industries. That, again, is a problem which is very important in India and, I believe, in other Asian countries also. We have in India a number of small-scale industries and handicrafts at present in a more or less serious state of decay. We have got to revive them and thereby give relief to a number of persons who are virtually agricultural workers and who supplement their income from these handicrafts and small-scale industries. At the same time, I must utter a word of caution. We must not lay too much emphasis on the development of small-scale industries and handicrafts. This is, as you know, an age of machinery and large-scale production, and the economies inherent in large-scale production should not be lost to the consumer; and the worker in turn becomes a consumer also. Therefore, apart from any other aspect of the question, I would like to emphasise that we should in our long-term programme try to build up our village economy, our social economy, not so much on small-scale industries and handicrafts, but on large-scale production and large-scale industries.

One word more and I have finished. I say that the village as it exists today is not the place where people with modern ideas would go and establish themselves. The villages must be modernised wherever it is possible to do so, particularly those on the railway lines of communication. Modern comforts like the radio, electricity, water supply, sanitation, medical relief and other things should be made available, so that small capitalists and people who have got ideas about improvement of the village can go and settle in the village and make it a centre for the propagation of modern ideas and for the improvement of the standard of living of the agricultural worker.

I commend the resolution for the acceptance of the Conference.

(Mr. Cresson takes the Chair.)

The PRESIDENT (Mr. CRESSON) — I have to request the members to make their speeches as brief as possible.

Mr. SIVASAMBU (*Workers' delegate, Malayan Union*) — The President has requested that speeches should be brief and I shall not take much of your time. As regards the question of wage policy, this is an important matter for all Asian countries, especially those which have been devastated by the second World War. Whenever the worker asks for an increase in wages, the employers and Government refer to the dangers of inflation. But the Employers' delegate from Singapore has said that there is ample food in Singapore. I connect Singapore and the Malayan Union because their Governments work jointly in the matter of any re-

dressing of workers' grievances. There has lately been a Wages Report. It has caused a certain amount of dissatisfaction among the workers. When the question was raised, the Government said that the financial position was such that no wage increases apart from those contained in the wage scales could be granted. This is the kind of excuse which we get from the Government. I think this applies in all Asian countries. The employer always looks to increased production and the worker to increased standard of living compared to other fellow-workers in different countries. But the Government always emphasises the financial position.

Now the three groups have met on a common platform, where they can talk not in terms of employer, employee or Government but in terms of humanity. The I.L.O. has sought to hold the scales even between the contending parties and we in this Conference, during the last few days, have discussed very important subjects. There has been real co-operation among the three groups. This is appreciated not only by me but by every member here.

The question of wage policy is one which can be tackled only by the three groups understanding each other and forming wage boards and wage councils. As far as the Malayan Union is concerned, such a council is already being established; but I greatly regret to say that the time this has taken is more than should be expected. The reason is want of education on the part of trade unions and also great lack of understanding of humane principles on the part of employers. Furthermore, in this matter, there are great differences between different countries. Speaking for the workers of the Malayan Union whom I have the honour to represent, I regret to say that in the Wages Report recently published no mention has been made of workers on plantations and in tin mines. When the workers in general asked for an increase in wages, the employers said that there must be an increase in rubber and tin production. But I wonder what would be the answer if the rubber and tin people ask for an increase. I think it would be, "we require rehabilitation of industries; we have been torn to pieces by the last war". To settle all these difficulties all the three have got to work on a friendly basis and only the International Labour Organisation can give a proper direction in such matters and suggest remedies.

On the question of housing there have already been many complaints in the country. I raised the question when the I.L.O. Mission visited Malaya and said that speedy action was required. I understand the obvious difficulty, having regard to the financial condition of the country and the fact that most of the houses have been demolished by bombing during the last war. These are facts and let us admit them. But there should be no exaggeration with regard to any subject, as for instance, the suggestion made by the employers' side that Singapore had abundant food. Food there may be in abundance, but there are not enough wages in the workers' pockets to buy it. We find that only the people who belong to the middle class and the people who have more money are able to buy it. They say there is an abundance of food because it is they who get the available supplies.

On the question of agricultural production there is no doubt that the producer puts forth all his effort. But there is no security of income. Floods and such other calamities may come in the way and may result in the destruction of his crops. Education is lacking and the producers are not able to set up organisations to defend their rights. On the question of education, a country like Malaya should advance far and not lag

behind any other country. As far as the Government is concerned, the education provided is fairly ample and appreciated by the Malayan people. But as regards the workers in the industries, such as those in the tin mines or the rubber factories, it is with regret that I have to say that it is far below the standard, the reason being that the vernacular teachers in the country are extremely few owing to the low salaries offered. For instance, on a rubber plantation you will have a teacher who will be a conductor, a dresser and also a part-time clerk of the factory; he may be paid a small salary, for which he sticks to the estate. There are, of course, a few estates which have a very good staff for teaching. But the excuse of the other employers probably will be that such estates stand on a better financial footing. There is in addition a system of grant-in-aid schools, where a committee is set up which runs the schools. These think in terms of the nation and educate the children at good speed. I am sure you will all agree with me that we should congratulate the Government of Ceylon, for having introduced recently a system of education extending from the kindergarten to the university. This deserves our sincere appreciation. I hope the I.L.O. will induce the Malayan Union Government to bring such a system into effect in Malaya. Knowledge, imbibed from the cradle to the grave, is needed for the uplift of a community or of a country.

Next I would refer to the desirability of collective bargaining and collective agreements. There should be freedom of association. Trade unions have developed since 1945 in the Malayan Union. But there is a barrier which separates the industrial and the Government workers. Government workers are united in one union, while industrial workers are united in another union. They have to work in collaboration, as by such joint action alone can they accelerate their own and the country's rehabilitation. On the question of collective agreements I agree with the point raised, probably by Mr. Monk, that education in trade unionism is essential for certain countries, of which, I may point out, the Malayan Union is one. If that is achieved, collective agreements will achieve greater success.

On the question of family budget enquiries, it is urged that nutrition experts should be associated in the enquiries. That is a thing which all of us will appreciate. But there should be someone who would be able to examine the experts' recommendations, and I hope that the task will be taken up by the I.L.O. When family budget enquiries are made by experts in any country, a copy should be transmitted to the International Labour Office, where their value will be ably assessed. I raise this point as there has lately been some dissatisfaction among the workers in connection with the budgets being examined by experts. When the worker might say "I am used to eating 5 katis of fish a day", the expert might say "eat 1 kati of meat, which will have more calorific value". The expert may be perfectly right from the medical point of view, but the man who is accustomed to fish cannot do without it. The process of change has to be gradual.

Generally speaking, I would point out that in supporting the resolution before us I would like to thank the medical authorities who have worked on the Social Security Committee and other committees for pointing out the facts. In a conference of this nature, at least in the session in China in 1949, I hope that the three groups of delegates—Government, Employers and Workers—will as far as possible put forward facts and nothing but facts, which can be analysed to bring complete success to the cause of the workers of Asian countries.

Mr. MASURKER (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution drawing the attention of the Governments in Asian countries to the imperative and immediate necessity of taking urgent steps to improve the condition of aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes. It is not necessary for me to dwell at length on the horrible disabilities, both social and economic, from which persons belonging to my community, the so-called untouchable castes, suffer. Untouchability is a blot on Indian society and it needs to be eradicated immediately root and branch. It will not be out of place to mention here that, due to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders, the social consciousness of our people has been roused. The new Constitution of Free India contains a clause making untouchability a crime. Our provincial Ministers have passed legislation throwing open the use of wells, public places, etc., to my community, and thereby have tried to remove our social disabilities. These efforts are good as far as they go, but they do not touch the real crux of the problem. The root cause of untouchability is the degrading poverty of my community, which in turn has added to the social disability. Under the so-called sanction of religion, there are a number of occupations which are still closed to the members of my community. The imperative need of the hour is to free my people from economic bondage. The Government should take radical measures so that the so-called untouchable castes can get land to live on and till. Today they have no land to call their own. All occupations must be thrown open to persons belonging to this community, and any attempt to debar them from entering them on account of birth should be liable to imprisonment. The majority of my community are occupied in the most important and useful task of removing dirt and keeping cities and towns clean. They are employed by municipalities, local boards and other Government bodies. Their wages are abominably low. Their condition of life is scandalous. While commending this resolution for the acceptance of this Conference, I would like to emphasise that if the conditions of the untouchable castes are not improved economically, the social disabilities from which we suffer will continue and the demands of untouchables will not die. It is for these reasons that I would urge upon the Government to attack this problem at its very root by improving the economic status and condition of the members of my community.

Mr. P. P. NARAYANAN (*Workers' adviser, Malayan Union*) — Although the Malayan delegate has already spoken regarding certain matters, I wish just to call your attention to the resolutions regarding freedom of association and wages.

As regards wages, you should remember that I speak on behalf of the plantation workers in Malaya. Malaya, as all of you know, is a country where there are Chinese, Indian and Javanese workers, that is, its labour is cosmopolitan. But it is a fact that there is disparity in the wages of different nationalities. The Indian labour in the past was drawn from the South Indian villages, and the workers were kept on the estates working on a daily basis. On the other hand, the Chinese labour always works on a task, that is, under a contract system. The result is that while the Indian labourer gets one dollar, the other gets three dollars. At present the minimum wage may be one dollar thirty cents for an Indian labourer while the other earns four to five dollars. Now we have moved a resolution to say that there should be equal wages for equal work. This is a principle which I think the Malayan employers will say they follow, because it is

a practice with them to say that the Indian labour is not as skilled as the Chinese labour. But I can tell you that the Indian worker is given no real incentive. He is recruited from South India and then taken to the plantation and told : " All right, you work eight hours, you will be given so much." But if we give him an incentive, I am sure that, if he does not prove better than, at least he will be equal to his co-worker, that is, the Chinese labourer. Since the last war, conditions have changed. It is always asserted by the management that in the case of Indian labour they take special interest in providing the worker with housing, medical aid, etc., etc. It may be true that under post-war conditions all the labourers alike have these facilities, but at the same time you still find this particular factor — the disparity of wages.

I come to my next point, freedom of association. I am a trade unionist myself, and in my experience of two years in the movement I have found many difficulties in carrying out the work of the union. For example, if you want to enter a plantation, first you will have to get permission from the management. In ordinary circumstances, it is possible for you to get sanction from the management. But suppose the workers are on strike and you want to contact them. The management can turn round and say : " All right, your request is under consideration." When the strike is over or about to finish, then you may get the permission. This means that you cannot conduct the strike properly. I would emphasise that this is the position not only in the matter of strikes. Even in ordinary circumstances, when you want to give a lecture on education or social uplift or anything of that sort, this freedom of access to the workers in the plantations is to a certain extent curbed.

For Government workers, the question never arises, because the Government lines of the workers are generally built near the public road, so to say, and you need not ask the permission of anybody to go and associate with the workers. One practical solution which comes to my mind regarding freedom of association is this : either the Government should buy the roads leading to plantations and the localities where the lines are built ; or the management, in good understanding with the unionists, will have to declare the lines as well as the roads a public place where people can go and associate. Unless there is this freedom of association, I do not think real trade unionism can exist and the movement prosper.

I do not want to take your time any more, but only wished to point out the difficulties of the trade unionists. Once again, I thank you for giving me a hearing and support the resolutions on freedom of association and wages.

Mr. EDWARDS (*Employers' delegate, Malayan Union*) — In reply to the remarks made by the adviser to the delegate for the workers in Malaya, I have a few words to say which I have made brief in accordance with the President's instructions.

The labour employed on plantations in Malaya is mostly Indian and Chinese. It is a fact that cash rates paid to Chinese are usually higher than cash rates paid to Indians. But in the case of Chinese, remuneration usually stops with those cash payments. Chinese labour is almost always employed on piece work. Indian labour is mostly on daily pay and the Indian labourer receives amenities, equal to 25-35 per cent. of his pay, in the shape of housing, firewood, water supply, schools, allotments, medical care, crèches for small children in which milk is issued free ; and work is always found

for women and older children even though not essential to the working of the plantation. In the cases of Indian labour on piece work, these amenities still obtain. So if piece work for Indians were paid at exactly the same rate as Chinese piece work, the Indians would cost more than 25 per cent. more than the Chinese. Methods of levelling rates of pay are receiving the attention of employers. Levelling is not as easy as it sounds, since the Indians appreciate and want to keep their amenities, while the Chinese prefer their present system.

In reply to the remarks on freedom of association : if it is the desire of trade unions to hold meetings on private property, the permission of the management has to be obtained. This has been reiterated, and such permission is never unreasonably withheld.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)

THIRTEENTH SITTING

Friday, 7 November 1947, 2.45 p.m.

President: Dr. Malik

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOUR POLICY¹: ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — The discussion on the report of the Committee on Labour Policy is closed. Does anyone propose the adoption of the report?

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*)—I move the adoption of the report.

Mr. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — I second the proposal.

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — If there is no opposition, I declare the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — There are eleven resolutions annexed to the report. I will take them one by one, and put them to the vote. I shall ask for a proposer and seconder for each, and if there is no opposition, I shall declare it adopted.

(Resolutions I to XI are adopted seriatim.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PROGRAMME OF ACTION²: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — I call upon the Reporter of the Committee on Programme of Action to present the report of the Committee to the Conference.

Mr. DJANG (*Government delegate, China*), *Reporter of the Committee on Programme of Action* — I have the greatest pleasure in presenting to you the report of the Programme of Action Committee which is now in your hands. The report consists of six pages. The first part is the report followed by two appendices. The Committee held in all nine meetings, in which there were debates and discussions that were very

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix IV (3)*, pp. 243-249.

² See *Third Part: Appendix V (3)*, pp. 254-258.

useful and interesting. And then we reached a unanimous report. I hope all of you will give your kind and speedy consideration to the report and adopt it.

Mr. TAYLOR (*Government delegate, New Zealand*), *Chairman of the Committee on Programme of Action*— I have felt greatly honoured in being appointed to be the Chairman of this Committee and I must congratulate the Committee on the report which it has brought out. I may say that there was a great deal of unanimity amongst the members of the Committee on various aspects of the subjects which came before them, and first of all on the question of the agricultural problems common to the Asian countries. Secondly, and this is one of the most important matters dealt with in the report, there is the question of freedom of association and the right of collective bargaining. It should be remembered that the resolutions which the Committee have formulated are merely a preliminary step in the improvement of the conditions of the peoples of Asian countries. The resolutions from this Conference will be considered by the Governing Body and will form one of the principal matters for the consideration of the Governing Body in the preparation of the agenda for the Conference in China. One of the things that I think should be remembered by both Employers' and Workers' delegates is the necessity for organisation, which comes under the heading of "Freedom of association". There is much to be done in this direction which is not possible unless employers and workers can speak with a single voice—may be, one voice for the employer and one for the worker—and it is for their organisations to make representations from both sides to their respective Governments. This is a matter to which both employers and workers should give great consideration.

I would like to take this opportunity also of expressing thanks to the Government of India for the hospitality accorded to the representatives of my country and also for the facilities extended for the holding of this Conference. I would also like to express appreciation of the work of the Governing Body and of the officers and staff of the Office for the good work which they have done in connection with the holding of this Preparatory Conference. Last but not least, I think some word of appreciation should be expressed to the Boy Scout organisation and the members of that organisation that have rendered such valuable service in connection with this Conference.

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — The report is now open for discussion. Though there are only two resolutions, there are amendments to them, particularly to resolution No. 1 on programmes of action.

Interpretation: H.E. Thao Kou ABHAY (*Government delegate, Laos*): I have the honour to represent here a small country with only some two million inhabitants. But this is a democratic institution, in which I am glad to say the representatives of small countries have the same rights as those of the larger countries. My country has recently, without violence, taken its independent place in the French Union, and has been able to send a complete delegation to this Conference.

My country is a rich one, but essentially an agricultural country, and it has a wealth of fertile land, much of which is not yet under cultivation. It is suitable for all types of crops, and therefore there is ample room for the development of our agricultural activities. There are probably, in

addition, large mineral resources in the country, though not yet adequately explored, and water power could easily be developed.

When I say the country is rich, I must go on to add that the people are poor. We have a chronic shortage of labour in Laos, and thus we are obliged to make every one work and take part in producing a minimum of equipment after the crops have been got in. We hope in time, with the introduction of additional machinery and the use of more capital, to be able to get rid of this system of compulsory labour. We are also short of skilled workers for the various trades which we should like to develop. Consequently, in our country the demographic problem is fundamental. Until we have dealt with that problem and until we have developed our economic system, we cannot with the best will in the world apply the standards laid down in the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by this Organisation. But although we thus have to give priority to economic demands, we bear the social aspects in mind, and we have applied those Conventions which have been ratified in so far as there are sufficiently stable groups of workers to whom they can be applied. In any case, their recommendations serve us as a guide.

Our delegation has learnt much at this Conference and its deliberations have been useful as showing us the pitfalls that we ought to avoid and the methods of avoiding these dangers. Therefore, we should like to express our deep gratitude both to the International Labour Organisation and to the representatives of all the countries here who have told us so much about their conditions and their difficulties. In particular, we should like to express our thanks to India, which we feel is the cradle of our civilisation and which has been so hospitable to us during this Conference. I should like to say in conclusion that it seems to me that the deliberations of this Conference have reflected the serenity of the Indian sky.

Mr. PAO (*Government delegate, China*) — In regard to paragraph 6 of the first resolution appended to the report of the Committee, I wish to make the following statement. As you know, my country has approximately 300 million agricultural workers, not in plantations but scattered over hundreds of thousands of villages throughout China. They are not so well organised, one must admit, as industrial workers in the big cities. With the facilities for transport at present available in my country, it would be most difficult to set up an efficient system of agricultural inspection. Under these circumstances, my country is devoting its attention to industrial inspection, which has already taken root, and to making it an important factor in the progressive implementation of international labour standards. Based on our accumulated experience of industrial inspection, steps will gradually be taken for the preparation and setting up of an effective system of agricultural inspection. But I am afraid this preparatory work, if it is to be thorough and useful, will take some time. I urge Asian countries that have already set up workable systems for the inspection of plantation labour to bear in mind the statement I have just made and to take the difficult and different circumstances I have just mentioned into fair consideration.

Mr. BOSE (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I rise to speak on the report on programmes of action which has just been submitted to this Conference. I do not propose to make a long speech, but I should like to say that it is a matter of great pleasure that the International Labour Organisation has at last moved to the East and held on the soil of Asia this Conference, for which a demand has been made for so many years. The labourers

in the East—and I think in the West as well—attach a great importance to the Organisation and its conferences and decisions. They consider the Philadelphia Declaration as the Magna Charta for their redemption. The Asian labourers in these countries would have been greatly benefited by this time if the Organisation had started holding conferences in Asia much earlier; but better late than never.

The resolution embodied in this report is one of the most important resolutions for Asian countries, as is indicated clearly by the very title of the report on which the resolution is based. The title runs: "Programme of Action for the Enforcement of Social Standards Embodied in Conventions and Recommendations Not Yet Ratified or Accepted". The workers would have been satisfied if a plain resolution had been drafted, calling upon all the Asian countries to discharge their obligations by ratifying and accepting within a specified period all unratified Conventions and Recommendations. But that was not to be. The parties that have power to give effect to such a resolution hold different views and look at it from different angles of vision. I must, however, admit that there are exceptions. The Governments of India, Pakistan and Burma assumed a more generous attitude in this matter. Ultimately, however, the resolution was hammered down to its present form, and if there are any amendments, they will come hereafter. It was over and over again contended that because of the predominantly agricultural character of Asian countries the minimum labour standards contemplated by the International Labour Code could not be applied to industrial workers of those countries. In our opinion this theory is very unsound. In the advanced countries also, the application of international labour Conventions and Recommendations is mostly confined to industrial workers, and we believe that it can be proved by facts and figures that if the standard of living of the industrial workers and their purchasing power should improve, production would increase and the condition of the agriculturists would also improve simultaneously. Otherwise, we are involved in a vicious circle: neither industrial workers nor agricultural workers will get out of the rut in which they are at present, and these countries will remain as backward and undeveloped as they are described to be now. I therefore request all parties concerned, particularly the Governments of these countries, to accept the resolution in its real spirit and adopt the measures contemplated by the resolution as speedily as possible, so that the labourers may have a fair deal and the Asian countries may march forward shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the world and may not constitute a danger to the prosperous parts of the world.

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — The discussion on the report is closed, but some amendments have been put forward on which an understanding between the three groups is being sought. I shall therefore postpone further consideration of the report until later.

FOURTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE¹: DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — We shall now pass on to the next item of the agenda, the presentation of the fourth report of the Selection Committee by the Reporter, Mr. Ponniah.

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix II (5)*, pp. 200-203.

Mr. PONNIAH (*Government delegate, Ceylon*), *Reporter of the Selection Committee* — I have the honour to present the fourth report of the Selection Committee. The Committee held its 8th sitting on 5 November and its 9th sitting on 6 November. It adopted unanimously the following four proposed resolutions, which it transmits to the Conference for approval :

(1) proposed resolution concerning the economic policies necessary for the attainment in Asia of the social objectives of the International Labour Organisation ;

(2) proposed resolution concerning industrial development in Japan ;

(3) proposed resolution concerning representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers ;

(4) proposed resolution concerning the placing of Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation before the national legislatures.

The report deals in a second part with credentials, which consists of two sections concerning, firstly, objections raised in respect of the credentials of the Workers' delegates of India, Ceylon and the French Establishments in India, and secondly, the reasons why an invitation to attend the Conference had not been extended to Indonesia. I shall first introduce the part of the report dealing with credentials, and the Chairman of the Selection Committee will next introduce the four proposed resolutions.

In introducing the first half of the report on credentials, which deals with the objections to the Workers' delegates of India, Ceylon and the French Establishments in India, I would like to say that, although it is to be regretted that the Conference was not given the necessary powers to reject the credentials, the Governments concerned were also not informed as to their position in regard to this matter. The suggestions which have been made by the Committee, have, however, been noted, and it is hoped that they will go a long way towards ensuring that proper representation is given to workers' and employers' organisations in accordance with paragraph 3 of report I on credentials.

In regard to an invitation to the Indonesian Republic to attend this Conference, the Committee felt that in view of prevailing circumstances, the matter was one outside its jurisdiction. But it noted with pleasure an assurance given that in future proper representation will be given to Indonesia.

I have pleasure in submitting this portion of the fourth report of the Selection Committee for your approval.

Mr. LALL (*Government adviser, India*), *Chairman of the Selection Committee* — It is my duty to explain the four resolutions that are contained in this report of the Selection Committee.

The first resolution is a composite resolution, which combines a number of resolutions sent in by various delegations. All these resolutions deal with economic policies affecting labour. The economic policies covered by this resolution are : provision of industrial employment for excess agricultural population ; expansion of agricultural production ; fair distribution of agricultural income ; fair terms of exchange for export of primary products ; capital formation ; inflation ; industrial development ; and a few miscellaneous items. Each one of these policies entails very complicated financial problems, and it may be asked why a labour conference should deal with them. The answer is that the policies

dealing with these problems seriously affect the conditions of labour, and it was therefore considered necessary for this Conference to draw attention to them. In doing so, however, we make it clear that we are not the authorities on these subjects, and our conclusions are mainly the provisional views which we are putting forward to the appropriate organisations for their consideration with a view to the matter being further considered when we next meet in China. Many of the matters dealt with in this resolution appear to be contentious, and at one time I thought we would probably not be able to get an agreed text. But thanks to the spirit of co-operation which has been evident throughout this Conference, we were able to get an agreed draft, which I now commend to the consideration of the Conference.

The second resolution deals with industrial development in Japan. Its object is to protect Asian countries and all countries from dumping. If dumping is allowed, labour standards in all Asian countries will inevitably suffer. So this resolution brings to the notice of the appropriate authorities the danger of dumping.

The third resolution is concerned with the representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers. We have all along emphasised the fact that the predominant feature of labour problems in Asia is the predominance of agriculture; and as the Constitution stands, there seems to be some difficulty in securing suitable representation of agricultural interests. We are inviting the Governing Body to take this problem into consideration.

The last resolution deals with the placing of the international labour Conventions and Recommendations before the national legislatures. In paragraph 1 we recommend that these Conventions and Recommendations should be submitted to the competent authorities in a manner which permits of adequate consideration of their provisions. In paragraph 2 we recommend to non-metropolitan States that they should adopt the same procedure which Members of the International Labour Organisation have to adopt in placing the Recommendations and Conventions before their competent authorities for consideration.

These in brief are the four resolutions which are now before you.

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — There are two parts to the report, one part dealing with proposed resolutions and the other dealing with credentials. As there are no amendments, I suggest that speakers should speak on the entire report or on either part.

Mr. MONK (*Workers' delegate, Australia*) — I am mainly concerned with that portion of the Selection Committee's report which deals with credentials. Objection was taken to a number of the workers' credentials, and as a result the Selection Committee appointed a subcommittee consisting of three members, one from each group. We made a report to the Selection Committee, which was adopted. You have it before you in report I, paragraph 2.¹ I do not propose to traverse all the details that might be necessary for justifying the conclusions arrived at by the subcommittee, but I do propose to make a number of observations which will establish the absolute necessity of the Governing Body providing machinery in the future for dealing with disputed credentials.

First of all, I want to make it perfectly clear that I am not trying to criticise the Governing Body for not prescribing the appropriate procedure

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix II (5)*, p. 200.

to deal with this situation at regional conferences. Nevertheless, difficulties have arisen and I think the machinery should be laid down by the Governing Body for dealing with such situations as have confronted us in this Conference. Personally, as a member of the subcommittee, I have found it extremely difficult to do the sorting out that is necessary to establish the authenticity of every one of the statements made. For instance, on behalf of the Workers' delegate of the French Establishments in India we received this morning a letter for the Workers' group, through the Secretary-General or through his office, from the Government of France; and had we had the power to handle that situation, we probably might have got some way nearer to a proper solution. We had objections, first of all, in regard to the delegates from India. I paid no attention to that, irrespective of whether I had personal opinions about it, because the last International Labour Conference itself determined that question. With regard to Ceylon, we had no power to deal with that position. In regard to French India at least, the Workers' group received some explanation. I have just cited this instance as an illustration of the necessity of there being machinery in the regional conferences to deal with situations that might arise or confront them in regard to the credentials of delegates. Objection was taken by the Confederation of Trade Unions of France to the appointment of the delegate representing French India. The C.G.T. claimed that, in the first instance, the Minister of the Interior of France had requested it to arrange for the representation of the workers in French India. It accordingly cabled 21 or 23 unions in French India to arrange for representation, as a result of which a delegate was appointed. Apparently—and this is borne out by the letter received by the Workers' group this morning—the Governor of the French Establishments in India did not like the brand of politics of the person selected, who, he alleged, was the Secretary of the Communist Party. It is immaterial to anybody in this Conference whether a trade union selected a Communist or whether it selected someone like myself, to the ultra-right. What the trade unions have the right to do is to make their own selection, irrespective of what anybody thinks about their group, their colour or their politics. I make no apology for having challenged the position of the French Indian Establishments Workers' delegate inside our own group. He can be excluded from the deliberations of the group. For, in the first instance, that delegate told the group that he had started to organise "syndicates" or trade unions in French India only three weeks before this Conference started. He then said that he had not been elected by trade unions, but had been selected at a public meeting of workers consisting of 10,000 workers in the French Indian Settlements. If I may use an Americanism, to me this is just plain hooey, because if you cannot get 10,000 workers to join a union, you cannot get 10,000 workers to attend a public meeting to select a delegate to this Conference. Anyhow, the French Government or the French representative now turns round and sends a letter this morning, contradicting the position taken up, as I have told you, by the Workers' delegate himself—and surely if any man can explain his own position, it is the Workers' delegate himself. We are told on behalf of the French Government that three textile syndicates—which I understand to be three local branches of a textile workers' union, consisting of six persons—elected this delegate to come to this Conference. Well, it is beyond my credulity to swallow that. I make no apology for telling the Workers' group and the Secretary-General this morning that we saw no reason to retire from the position that we took earlier, based on the facts I am giving

you. I do not think they can be disputed. The case is clear evidence of the necessity of the Governing Body making Standing Orders for dealing with the credentials of delegates who attend regional conferences. I want to make it clear that I am not attacking the Governing Body for not having done that. As I understand the position, the Governing Body decision was taken with reference to the existing procedure. I am suggesting what the future procedure should be.

Now I want to turn to report II of the Selection Committee on credentials, in which I am very keenly interested, because I suppose I can claim that Australia is the next neighbour of the Dutch East Indies, and perhaps we happen to have more first-hand information than many delegates to this Conference. Again I make no apology for having raised the question in the Workers' group. Factually, report II on credentials is partially correct. But I want to make one or two observations. The Linggadjati Agreement would have solved the position. I am not going into the question as to who was responsible for giving effect to the Linggadjati Agreement. It does not matter to me whether it is the Dutch authorities or those of the Indonesian Republic. I am not going into the history of all the things that have arisen as a result of this dispute, particularly in regard to shipping. But it is quite clear that the delegation from the Dutch East Indies at this Conference is not fully representative of the Dutch East Indies. S.O.B.S.I., which in plain English represents the Central Council of the Indonesian Trade Union Movement, is a new organisation formed overnight. It is indisputable that in the area controlled by the Dutch authorities there are trade unions in existence. I do not want to cast any reflection upon the Workers' delegates from the area controlled by the Dutch, because I am satisfied and have seen the letters appointing these representatives to this Conference. They are from the miners' union, the railway union, the oil workers' union and the Chinese Federation. They had a right of selection. And I say frankly that I commend the Dutch authorities for having succeeded in arranging the representation for the Workers' group. On the other hand, I think it must be agreed by all here that representation from the Dutch area alone does not mean representation of the whole or even of the greater part of the Dutch East Indies, because the Indonesian Republic as such is not represented at this Conference. I quite appreciate the attitude taken by the Governing Body, that the issuing of invitations to this Conference could be done only through the metropolitan States and through the Governments which are recognised by the United Nations Organisation and the International Labour Organisation. But I express the hope, as has been expressed in informal discussions by Dr. Koets on behalf of the Netherlands East Indies, that in the very near future there will be no exception and that at the next Asian regional conference we shall see representatives from S.O.B.S.I. as well as the unions in the Dutch-controlled areas.

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — On behalf of the Conference, I have great pleasure in welcoming H. E. Lady Mountbatten. We highly appreciate the interest that Her Excellency and Lord Mountbatten have been taking in the Conference, and we hope that they will always in future take such interest in Asia's welfare. As we are all aware and appreciate, it was Lord Mountbatten who liberated South-East Asia from the Fascist imperial clutches.

(H. E. the Countess Mountbatten of Burma takes a seat on the platform.)

Mr. MIRAJKAR (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I am also going to refer to the same part of the report to which my friend Mr. Monk has referred, the part relating to credentials. Now, as you are aware, the disputes were three in number. Some of the arguments advanced were frivolous, but in one or two cases a real injustice has been done to representative organisations. Mr. Monk has pointed out to you very effectively the case of the workers' organisation in the French Settlements in India. There the workers' organisation, a representative organisation, has been set aside by the Governor of Pondicherry, and he has imposed upon us a person who is certainly not a representative of the workers of the French Settlements in India; I say that in the light of evidence, and I am thoroughly convinced on the point. But the Selection Committee could not go into the matter, as the Governing Body failed to give the necessary powers to the credentials committee of this Conference; thus the injustice done to the workers' organisation could not be effectively remedied. If that had been done, I have no doubt in my mind that the Committee would have given a correct decision.

What has happened in the case of the workers in the French Settlements? I know that two months ago the Federation of Labour of Pondicherry was recognised as a representative organisation by the Governor. I have attended a meeting convened by it—in fact I presided over that meeting—which the present Governor also attended and addressed. He recognised the Federation as the workers' organisation, and I have a picture of the meeting with the Governor himself. Secondly, the Governor has himself signed contracts admitting the representative character of the organisation. But when the time came for sending a delegate to this Conference, the Governor did not send the delegate of that representative organisation here, and the workers in the French Settlements are today the sufferers, because they are not properly represented at this Conference. That is a grievance which could have been remedied by the credentials committee had the credentials committee been given power by the Governing Body. And to the extent that the Governing Body did not give the power, did not formulate rules, did not consider this matter in connection with the Asian regional conference, to that extent I feel the Governing Body can be held responsible, and the Governing Body must remedy matters. The Selection Committee has made a unanimous recommendation, and I have no doubt that at the next regional conference such difficulties will not arise.

As regards the second report with regard to credentials, I have to say this, that many of the South-East Asian countries are not represented at this Conference. I would have liked to see here representatives of the Indonesian Republic; I would have liked to see here representatives of Viet Nam. But they are not here. Some technical objections and technical points have been raised. Let us hope that these technical points will be got over and that at the next conference, in China, we shall have representatives properly representing these States, so that people in this part of the Asian region will be properly and adequately represented at conferences like this.

I will say just this before I finish. The Governing Body, which did everything so far as the preparations for this Conference were concerned, failed to give adequate powers to a credentials committee to go into the credentials of delegates. It ought to have known that disputes were bound to arise, and that disputes must be settled so that injustices done to anybody or to any interest may be removed. I am sure that this defect will be

remedied and at least at the next conference, in China, the Governing Body will see to it that such difficulties do not arise.

Interpretation: Mr. CHAILLÉ (*Government delegate, France*): As the French Government delegate at this Conference I feel bound to defend the decisions of my Government in this connection. This debate seems to wish to give to this international organisation a right to infringe on the sovereign powers of nations. It is, in fact, on the proposal of representative organisations that nominations are customarily made to such conferences, but the Government, it must be admitted, has in each case the final right to accept or reject such nominations in individual cases. Mr. Subbiah was actually furnished with the support of the French C.G.T. But in fact he has been recognised to be a citizen of the Indian Union. This fact has been established in court. He has indeed carried the case to the court of appeal, but in the meantime, pending the final decision, he is regarded legally as an Indian citizen and therefore could not in any way legally represent French India at this Conference. As to the delegate who was actually appointed to this Conference to represent the workers of French India, I would simply emphasise again, without going into details, the national sovereignty of France. It is not for any international organisation—in this case many thousand miles away from the place where the decision is taken—to feel itself competent to contest such a decision. When we return to France, I shall certainly draw the attention of the Minister for Overseas Territories to the way in which this nomination has been contested and it is possible that he will institute an enquiry into the matter, but I would emphasise once more the absolute sovereignty of France in this respect.

Sir SHRI RAM (*Employers' delegate, India*) — I have great pleasure in seconding the resolutions moved by the Chairman, Mr. Lall. The essence of these proposed resolutions lies in these few words: "Whereas the Declaration of Philadelphia reaffirms that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere; and whereas poverty is the basic factor retarding social progress in Asia and such progress cannot be achieved without the adoption of economic policies designed to secure greater productivity and a fairer distribution of wealth". Removal of poverty and "greater productivity and a fairer distribution of wealth"—these in my opinion constitute the essence of the whole matter. It is in this connection that a number of resolutions have been considered and approved by the Selection Committee during the past five or six days. Various means have been suggested for this purpose, but what beats me is why in Asian countries this problem of poverty should arise at all. If at all, it ought to have arisen in countries where there was not enough population. After all, what is the wealth of a country? It is its men and materials, neither of which we in Asia lack. Then how is it that we are poverty-stricken? It is essentially because neither of our materials—human and otherwise—has so far been utilised to the fullest extent. On the one hand, we complain of underemployment and unemployment; and, on the other, as everybody knows, we are suffering from poverty to a degree unknown perhaps anywhere else in the world. All these suggestions that have been made, like the proverb, "all roads lead to Rome", lead to that one thing—production. We have made a number of suggestions, one of which is, and very rightly, that the population depending on land should be reduced and the Asian countries should be industrialised. If those

who reaffirm the Philadelphia Declaration are sincere in what they say, then their sincerity can only be proved if they help the Asian countries to industrialise themselves at as fast a rate as possible. It is with that object in view that we have proposed the section headed "Industrial Development". It is with this object, that, along with those who have worked on this Committee, I would, through the I.L.O., request the countries which can supply capital goods and which are more industrialised to help Asian countries by promptly supplying machinery for industrialisation. Such capital goods should be supplied at reasonable prices which will bear some comparison with the price index figures of those countries, and not at rates which may be beyond the capacity of Asian countries. We shall require their help not merely in capital goods, but also in respect of technical assistance, specialised knowledge, patents and, in some cases, even credit.

In the same way, we should not be content with developing large-scale industries alone. In the 20th century large-scale industries are indispensable and no country—whatever its ideas may be about having such industries—can get away from large-scale industries. We will have to develop large-scale industries, but they should not be run in such a way that cottage industry will disappear. As a matter of fact, if we have to solve the problem of our huge populations, it can only be done by paying greater and greater attention to small-scale and cottage industries. So far as small-scale and cottage industries are concerned, I think the Asian countries are more fortunately situated than the Western countries. With our huge populations, some of them whole-time unemployed, it is very necessary that they should be found work. Before this is done, it is desirable to go into the reasons as to why cottage industries which once held their own have now gradually lost their position. If the cottage industries stick to their old-time methods, they will not be able to compete with large-scale industries. It will be necessary to provide them with the latest developments in small machines, with new types of implements, with new designs, with standardisation, and facilities for the sale of their manufactured articles at proper prices, perhaps through co-operative societies or otherwise, so that the workers in small-scale and cottage industries may not suffer and leave their trades, as they have been doing. As a matter of fact, it is desirable that we should rehabilitate them and encourage them not only to produce finished goods themselves, but also in some cases to act as suppliers of various articles which could be fitted in with and used in the large-scale industries.

So far as agriculture is concerned, again this story of the Western countries is a story which is not very pleasant. We have to take various steps to increase the fertility of the soil and its yield by various methods which are being followed in other countries. We will have to provide various kinds of implements; we will have to provide various kinds of manures—both artificial and organic; we will have to provide new types of seeds; steps will have to be taken to get rid of pests and diseases; and, more than anything else, we will have to see that the water which is the farmer's first necessity is available to him at his beck and call. Here also we will have to depend for the supply of various items on the highly developed industrialised countries, and we again request those countries to help us.

There is one thing which I cannot understand; I do not know whether there is anything intrinsically wrong with some of the Asian countries like my own or there is some other factor which explains why we in this

country and in many other Asian countries have not succeeded in developing our industries during the last ten years. I know of at least one Asian country where even during the war they have industrialised themselves beyond recognition. I do not think that with most of the Asian countries and my own country there is anything intrinsically wrong; there must have been some other factor at work. And I therefore suggest to the I.L.O. that it should go into these very important matters and see why it is that we have suffered.

In the end I will say that in this Selection Committee and in various other committees we have all worked together—Government members, Workers and Employers. I do hope that in Asia we may set an example of removing poverty by all these three parties working together in agreement.

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — As there are no amendments I shall now put the resolutions to the vote, after calling for a proposer and seconder for each.

(Proposed resolutions Nos. 1 to 4 and the two reports relating to credentials are put to the vote and adopted seriatim.)

The PRESIDENT (Dr. MALIK) — If there is no opposition, I shall declare the entire report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 4.45 p.m.)

FOURTEENTH SITTING

Saturday, 8 November 1947, 10.00 a.m.

President: Mr. Jagjivan Ram

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PROGRAMME OF ACTION¹: DISCUSSION (*concl.*) AND ADOPTION

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will now resume the discussion of the report of the Committee on Programme of Action.

Mr. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — I beg to move that at the end of paragraph 8 of the proposed resolution concerning programmes of action, the following be added :

“Such programme of action should be prepared by the national Governments in consultation with a tripartite committee consisting of an equal number of representatives of Governments, employers and workers represented at this Conference. The Governing Body should be requested to appoint such a committee at an early date for this purpose.”

The object of moving this amendment is simple. In the International Labour Organisation we are anxious to secure as much benefit as we can from mutual consultations and exchange of mutual experience. In fact, the tripartite character is the very essence of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. This resolution no doubt recommends to the national Governments in Asian countries that they should frame their programme of action in consultation with their national organisations of employers and workpeople. This amendment only goes a step further and requests that they should also consult a tripartite committee to be appointed by the Governing Body, a committee consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the Governments, employers and workers participating in this Conference. This procedure, in my view, will enable the national Governments to frame their programmes in a much better way because by this procedure they will be securing advantage of the advice and experience of the various members of the proposed committee. These members would come from various countries of Asia and they would naturally be in a position to help the national Governments in the light of successes and failures in their own countries.

It is suggested by some of our friends here that the appointment of such a committee by the Governing Body would amount to an infringe-

¹ See *Third Part: Appendix V (3)*, pp. 254-258.

ment of the sovereignty of the countries concerned. In my view the question of sovereignty does not arise in this matter. Even in this very Conference, a large number of countries are exchanging views and experience with the object of arriving at mutually beneficial results. If this Conference has not encroached upon the sovereignty of any of the countries represented at this Conference, I do not see how a committee of this Conference can infringe the sovereignty of any of these countries. All that I am requesting the national Governments in Asia through this amendment is that, in framing their own programme, they should consult a committee of this Conference, to be appointed by the Governing Body. I am not asking the national Governments to receive any dictation from this committee. They will be free to frame their programme in the light of conditions in their own countries. If this amendment is accepted, they will only secure the benefit of the advice of this committee. I do not see any reason why national Governments should not be willing to accept this benefit.

I might repeat that all resolutions and decisions of the International Labour Conference are only of a recommendatory character. And when that is said, it automatically follows that all the decisions and resolutions of any of the committees of the International Labour Conference will also be only recommendatory and not mandatory. National Governments are entirely free to accept or reject any of these decisions; and if they can reject the decisions of the larger Conference, they certainly would not be bound by any decisions of the proposed committee. All that I hope to gain by the appointment of such a committee is to place the national Governments definitely at an advantage in framing their own programmes of action, by having the benefit of the advice of such a committee.

Under the new Constitution of the International Labour Organisation the national Governments have accepted the principle of keeping the International Labour Office informed of the progress achieved by them not only with regard to the ratification of Conventions and acceptance of Recommendations, but also with regard to progress made in the direction of accepting the standards embodied in other Conventions and Recommendations. The Constitution also provides that these reports to be made by the national Governments to the International Labour Office shall be placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference, and these reports may also be discussed by the committee of the Conference concerning ratification of Conventions and acceptance of Recommendations. The representatives of the national Governments will thus discuss in that committee with representatives of employers and workers questions relating to the progress achieved by them in the direction of attaining international labour standards as embodied in the Conventions and Recommendations. In view of this, I submit that national Governments have already accepted the obligation, and properly so, to discuss their own progress with representatives of other countries. In my opinion, there is no reason why national Governments should not discuss their proposals for progress with a similar committee. I trust that with this explanation the doubts about my proposals in the minds of some of the representatives of Governments in this Conference will be removed, and that they will find themselves able to support this proposal, which is meant entirely for the benefit of their countries. May I also request the representatives of Employers assembled in this Conference to give careful consideration to my proposal and accept it? The point of view of Governments and the point of view of the employers also will be

represented on this committee that I am proposing, and I hope there will be no objection either from the side of the Government or from the side of the employers to the adoption of this amendment.

The PRESIDENT — Who seconds this amendment ?

Mr. JOSHI (*Workers' representative of the Governing Body*) — I support the amendment.

Mr. GAVIN (*Employers' delegate, United Kingdom*)—I think it is very unfortunate that at this late stage an amendment should be moved in manuscript without its having been made available to the Conference. I am sure that not one of us has appreciated fully the implications of the amendment moved a few moments ago, and I for my part would certainly not wish to support an amendment of this character without having fully discussed its implications with my colleagues. As I understand it, it provides for an international tripartite committee to be set up to examine, pass judgment and advise on the national programmes of action even before the next Asian regional conference. That to my mind is completely impracticable. I think that in any case, as far as the national programmes of action of each particular country are concerned, there is already a provision in the resolution for consultation on a tripartite basis. That surely should satisfy the Workers' representatives on this committee—that their viewpoint, in so far as their own national programmes of action are concerned, will be heard. I would therefore suggest, in view of the circumstances in which this amendment has been moved and in view of the fact that there will be in two years' time a complete review of these national programmes of action at the next Asian regional conference, that the workers, having now put forward their view on it, should not wish to press that further. They have put it on record. I think it would be advisable if they did not press it further this time.

The PRESIDENT — You are aware that the time at our disposal is very short, as this is the last sitting. The amendment is very important, but I would request those who intend to speak on it to be as brief as possible. I ask the mover of the amendment to state his position.

Mr. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — I did not expect any opposition to the amendment which I moved. You all know this is the first Conference for the Asian countries. Asian countries have no experience of the I.L.O. procedure. What I wanted was that the Asian countries should have the experience of such a committee. This is the idea lying behind the amendment. I know that maybe some people will say it is a troublesome job to have another big gathering. But it is not my idea to have a big gathering at all. I feel very sincerely that a small committee—the Governing Body may fix the number—is necessary in the interest of the Asian countries, so as to have the benefit of experienced people in formulating our national programmes. That is the only idea. I have nothing to add, but I do request the members here to accept this amendment.

The PRESIDENT—The amendment has been formally moved and seconded and it has also been opposed. Now I shall take the sense of the Conference on this amendment.

(*A vote is taken by show of hands.*)

The PRESIDENT — The result of the voting is : for 9, against 30. I therefore declare the amendment rejected. I now call on Mr. Phadke, Workers' adviser, India, to move the second amendment.

Mr. PHADKE (*Workers' adviser, India*) — Ordinarily this amendment would have been moved by me and I have already given notice of this amendment, which notice has not yet been withdrawn. But I now understand that substantially the same amendment, which will largely meet my purpose, is tabled by the representative of the Government of India. Therefore I request you, Sir, to call upon the representative of the Government of India first to move his amendment.

Mr. V. K. R. MENON (*Government adviser, India*) — I must apologise because the amendment which I propose to move has not been circulated, but I hope the Conference will give me a hearing because virtually it is the same amendment as the Workers' representative proposed to move, with some items deleted. I will just briefly indicate what my point in this amendment is. I propose to suggest deleting some of the items covered in the amendment given notice of by the Workers' adviser from India and also at the end suggest a substantive addition, which I will explain when I have completed reading out my amendment. The amendment which I propose is that paragraph 10 of the resolution should read as follows :

“ In securing the progressive implementation, by means of such national programmes of action, of the standards laid down in the international labour Conventions and Recommendations, special attention should be directed by all Asian countries to the provisions of the following Conventions :

- (1) Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, 1919.
- (2) Hours of Work (Coal Mines) (Revised) Convention 1930.
- (3) Minimum Age (Industry) (Revised) Convention, 1937.
- (4) Night Work (Women) (Revised) Convention, 1934.
- (5) Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention, 1928.
- (6) Placing of Seamen Convention, 1920.
- (7) Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925.
- (8) Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Convention, 1925.
- (9) Maternity Protection Convention, 1919.
- (10) Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934.
- (11) Sickness Insurance (Industry, etc.) Convention, 1927.
- (12) Sickness Insurance (Sea) Convention, 1936.
- (13) Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921.
- (14) Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936.
- (15) Forced Labour Convention, 1930.

“ The Asian Regional Conference to be held in China in 1949 should consider, on the basis of the reports to be supplied by Governments, the progress being made with a view to the ratification and application of these Conventions and Recommendations and the extent to which modifications, if any, of their provisions may be necessary to permit of their application in the Asian countries. ”

I have now read out my amendment, which, as I submitted before, is virtually the same as was proposed to be moved and of which notice was given, with some deletions. But regarding the last portion which I have added, I would suggest that it will give the whole discussion which we are now having a more practical shape. It is no use merely giving a list of Conventions without examining to what extent we are faced with difficulties in their application *in toto* in Asian countries. If there were no difficulties, we would have implemented all; but the fact remains that many Conventions have not yet been implemented by most countries. In some cases you will realise that some special provision had been made in the Conventions to suit conditions in Asian countries. So while we focus attention on the Conventions, I do hope that between now and the next conference, in China in 1949, the Member States concerned will make a study of some of the more important Conventions and Recommendations; and I submit that the more important and urgent ones are those which I have listed in the amendment that I have proposed. They should make a real detailed study, come up with concrete suggestions as to why these Conventions and Recommendations cannot be implemented in any particular country, what changes may be required, whether substantial or in regard to the degree of applying them. These are matters which should engage our attention between now and the next conference, so that I hope that then we may be able to have something substantial achieved. I am not a believer in the principle of all-or-nothing. Instead of keeping a large number of Conventions and Recommendations just on paper and saying that for some reason or other the countries cannot implement them, we should see whether they can be implemented in some modified form. And it will be a very useful thing indeed if this study which I have suggested is made so that the difficulties can be discussed in the full conference in China, where of course all the parties will be represented as here.

Once again, I apologise for moving this amendment without giving notice, but in the light of what I have said I hope you will agree that there is nothing substantially different, and that virtually what I am doing is to suggest an amendment to the amendment of which notice was given by the Workers' adviser from India. But in order to make matters easy I have put it in the form of a substantive amendment.

Mr. KHEDGIKAR (*Workers' delegate, India*) — I second the amendment.

Mr. DJANG (*Government delegate, China*) — I oppose this amendment. I think it is rather unwise to open this question when we are approaching the end of this Conference. This problem was discussed in the Committee for several hours and an agreement was reached on the list of 16 Conventions and Recommendations proposed by the Workers. I think we are not in a position to discuss this new amendment as we do not have the list with us. In the Committee there was an amendment from India which was opposed, and the Workers' list of 16 Conventions placed instead. Besides, the list has not been circulated and I do not think we can remember the list read by the Indian delegate. I think it would be unwise to take Convention by Convention and Recommendation by Recommendation and discuss them on their merits. I oppose this amendment.

Mr. GAVIN (*Employers' delegate, United Kingdom*) — Mr. Djang has said in effect what I wanted to say. I do feel with him that while we have got no protection from the rather inadequate Standing Orders of this Conference, it would be quite unwise for the Indian Government to press a detailed amendment of this kind at this time. I think to do so would be to treat this Conference with quite an undue sense of levity. None of us has had any opportunity of studying the implications of this very far-reaching amendment, and I certainly would not attempt from this rostrum now to discuss these implications. But I do suggest that in view of the circumstances in which this amendment has been put forward and on its very merits that it should be either withdrawn or decisively rejected.

Mr. PHADKE (*Workers' adviser, India*) — I have much pleasure in supporting the amendment just moved by the Indian Government adviser to paragraph 10 of appendix I of the report of the Programme of Action Committee. This amendment, I must say, was moved by the Indian Government member during the deliberations of the Programme of Action Committee and was lost by a very narrow majority. There is no reason to believe that the nature and scope of the amendment was not known to any of the members of the Programme of Action Committee at any rate; and it has been made sufficiently clear here, and if it is not clear, I propose to do my humble best to make it clear as to what that exact scope and nature are.

Although paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 of the resolution which are embodied in appendix I to the Programme of Action Committee's report have been split in the resolution into two sections, the first under the heading "National Programmes of Action" and the second under "Labour Standards", they deal with one and the same subject. The object of these paragraphs, as has been explained in paragraph 10 of the report itself, is to draw up a priority list of the subjects and a list of the Conventions and Recommendations to which the Governments concerned should devote attention in the first instance and which should be taken into account in drawing up the national programmes proposed in paragraph 8 of the resolution. In paragraph 9 we have a list of subjects covering questions affecting the conditions of work and remuneration of workers. To reinforce these, an attempt has been made to list the important Conventions and Recommendations. In other words, paragraph 9 sets out the main subjects which should be taken into consideration in drawing up the programme, and paragraph 10 gives you the list of Conventions and Recommendations which have a bearing on these subjects.

Now, I would request you to compare the list given in paragraph 10 of the resolution with the items in paragraph 9. Conventions on subjects like the establishment of wage-fixing machinery, the provision of weekly rest periods, compensation to workers against accidents, maternity protection, prohibition of night work for women and children and the regulation of the age of admission to employment are included in this list, I concede at once. But Conventions bearing on the very important question of hours of work have not been listed. Further, Conventions relating to questions like recruitment, holidays with pay, abolition of forced labour, and protection against risks brought about by sickness and involuntary unemployment are not mentioned. If the resolution as finally adopted by the Committee goes forward, national Governments and organisations may well wonder as to what exactly is the object of the Conference in passing this resolution. Do we want them in drawing up the national

programmes to consider questions like sickness and unemployment insurance, holidays with pay and orderly recruitment? In one paragraph we say "yes", but in the next paragraph we do not mention the Conventions on this subject though we refer to the Conventions on the other subjects in paragraph 9. We should be consistent, and our resolution should set out clearly what we intend. It was to make this point clear that I had placed before the Conference a revised list. Fortunately, the Government of India agreed to accept this revised list with certain modifications, which they have embodied in the amendment now before you, and to which I have given my consent in order to arrive at a compromise agreed solution. If this amendment moved by the Government of India adviser now is accepted, as I hope it will be, the resolution will not give rise to any doubts and will set out our objects very clearly.

You will find, if you read paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 that the entire object is to draw up national programmes to *secure the progressive application, by stages where necessary, and over a period of years*, of the international labour standards. I would like you to note these words carefully. There is no question that the Conventions as such given in the list can be ratified immediately or should be ratified immediately. All that we are asking for is that in drawing up the national programmes we should make a study of the provisions included in the Conventions and Recommendations and consider whether these provisions are applicable, and if so to what categories of workers, and if they are not applicable wholly, to what extent we can go in accepting these Conventions. This is a modest request. I could not have imagined the Indian Government representative putting forward this amendment, as he has done in the Committee as well as in the open Conference, if this were not the case. We are grateful to the representatives of the Indian Government for bringing forward these proposals in the Committee as well as in the Conference, and to the representatives of the Government of Burma for supporting it at the Committee stage. I hope that in view of these explanations I have given it will be possible for the representatives of other Governments present here also to support the Indian Government's amendment.

I am anxious that there should be no attempt to draw a red herring across the track. I repeat that it is not our object to ask for ratification of the Conventions listed in the amendment. Let us therefore have no argument that these or some of them have not been ratified by many countries, even countries like Great Britain, and that it will not be possible for Asian countries to ratify them. If the countries in Europe and America have not ratified the Conventions, it does not mean that they have not accepted the standards set out in them. For example, Great Britain has not ratified the Hours of Work (Industry) Convention prescribing a 48-hour week. But workers have been working for many years no more than 48 hours; in many occupations they work only 44 hours; they are now moving towards a 40-hour week. Let there be no attempt to confuse the issue. We ask that the provisions of the Conventions should be carefully studied and that an immediate, serious and sustained attempt should be made to apply them, with such modifications as may be necessary, to as many categories of workers as possible. I am an incorrigible optimist, and I hope it may be possible for representatives of the employers also to vote for this amendment, so that the Conference may by a unanimous vote decide clearly and specifically what our intention is, and that in declaring this intention there is complete accord between all sections of this Conference.

Mr. LALI (*Government adviser, India*) — I do not wish to enter into the merits of the amendment which has been moved by the Government adviser of India, but I wish to take this opportunity of removing a misunderstanding which I think is rather unfortunate. It is not the case that the Government of India is trying to impose an amendment at the eleventh hour without notice to the Conference. The report of the Programme of Action Committee was in our hands yesterday in the afternoon. As soon as we saw that report we felt that there was a defect in paragraph 10; and, indeed, a notice of an amendment was given by the Workers' adviser, Mr. Phadke. Mr. Phadke proposed to include a fuller list of Conventions and Recommendations, and he wanted that list to be substituted for the list which is found in appendix I to the report of the Committee. We tried to come to an agreement and an understanding, but unfortunately we could not do so. The Government of India representatives understood that Mr. Phadke would move his amendment, and then, when they discovered that he was going to move his amendment, they discussed with him to see if that amendment could not be improved. What we are really doing is to omit some items from Mr. Phadke's list and to make a small addition towards the end of that paragraph. That is all that we are trying to do. If it is felt that what we are trying to do places the Conference in an unfair position and does not really give it a chance of studying our amendment, we are prepared to withdraw it and to let Mr. Phadke move his amendment. Nothing would please the Government of India more than to come to an agreement which would be acceptable to the whole Conference, but we do feel that paragraph 10 as drafted by the Committee is not acceptable, because the list of Conventions is very incomplete and it includes items which are of no importance. We find that certain important items are left out, and we would like to improve that list. If Mr. Phadke moves his amendment and if it comes to voting, we will have to vote with him, because we prefer his list to the list which is put here. But I am entirely in the hands of the Conference and in your hands, Mr. President, to decide whether we should proceed with the Government of India's amendment or with Mr. Phadke's amendment.

The PRESIDENT — The Government of India's amendment is before the Conference. The offer of the Government of India delegate to withdraw it in view of some suspicion in some quarters and again to allow Mr. Phadke to move his amendment will take additional time, and as the two amendments are almost identical, that time will be wasted. However, if it is the intention of the Government of India delegate to withdraw his amendment, the withdrawal can be only with the leave of the house. I ask him to state what he intends to do with his amendment?

Mr. V.K.R. MENON (*Government adviser, India*) — Sir, I will abide by the wishes of the House and yourself. You have made it quite clear that I have not attempted anything new, and it is for the Conference now to decide whether it will consider my amendment or prefer to reject it outright and then go on to Mr. Phadke's amendment, which in fact ultimately comes to the same thing. I have no special point to press.

The PRESIDENT — I want to make it quite clear to the Conference that if the amendment of Mr. Menon is voted upon and either accepted

or rejected, Mr. Phadke will in that case have no chance of moving his amendment.

Now I will take the sense of the Conference on Mr. Menon's amendment.

(A vote is taken by show of hands.)

The PRESIDENT — The result of the voting is: for, 19; against, 18. I declare the amendment adopted.

I now ask whether Mr. Phadke intends to move his next amendment.

Mr. PHADKE (*Workers' adviser, India*) — In view of the passage of this amendment, I am glad to say that I withdraw my next amendment.

The PRESIDENT — We have disposed of the amendments. Now the entire report, including the resolutions as amended, are before the Conference. I shall take the sense of the Conference on the report and the resolutions of the Committee separately in view of the amendments made.

As regards the report, if there are no objections, I shall consider the report adopted.

(The report is unanimously adopted.)

The PRESIDENT — If there are no objections, I shall consider the resolutions, as amended, adopted.

(The proposed resolutions, as amended, are unanimously adopted.)

CLOSING SPEECHES

The PRESIDENT — We have finished all the items on the agenda. Now we come to the closing speeches. I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Pao, Vice-President of the Conference, to speak.

Mr. PAO (*Government delegate, China*), *Vice-President of the Conference* — As a Chinese proverb says, there can be unending feast. Though we have come here across thousands of miles, not for the sole object of regaling ourselves with rich Indian food and drinking to each other's health, we have come to know the delegates and the causes they represent so well that we feel the imminence of the departure all the more deeply on this closing day of the Conference.

I wish to pay a warm tribute to the President of the Conference, the Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram, for so ably conducting the deliberations here. Had it not been for his brilliant guidance and leadership, we might have been kept here for another fortnight without achieving any fruitful result. I see, Mr. President, that you have not completely recovered from the injuries of the aeroplane accident; I only hope that you might find time to practise the Chinese philosophy of the golden mean by observing certain periods of relaxation, despite the heavy burdens of responsibility conferred upon you by your country.

Thanks are due to the Secretary-General of the Conference and his staff. I understand that many of his staff work on Sundays and at night so that we can get the provisional records and other documents to work upon in our meetings. It is mainly because the I.L.O. has an excellent and very efficient staff that we were able to accomplish so much within such a short span of time. I wish to thank the Indian Government for their

kindness in inviting us to meet here, for the excellent arrangements for the expediency of our work and for the material comfort we enjoy in this beautiful and memorable city of New Delhi.

I wish also to thank you, Mr. President, and members here in the Conference for deciding to request the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to convene the First Session of the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation to meet in China in 1949. It was with great rejoicing, therefore, that I sent an urgent telegram, right after the important decision of the Conference, to Nanking intimating to my Government the contents of the resolution. My Government will be in a position to repay the debt of gratitude we owe to the host-country—India—as I have just received a telegram from His Excellency the Minister of Social Affairs, dated 7 November, Nanking, which reads as follows :

“ Please send invitation to members of the Conference on behalf of the Government for holding First Session of Asian Regional Conference in China in 1949. We shall do our best to make it a success and shall look after comfort of delegates. Please extend to all delegates my best wishes and hearty welcome. KU CHENG KANG.”

We are now nearing the end of the Conference. With sweat and toil, we have not worked in vain. We have in our hands resolutions that we drafted and redrafted until they reached the final stage. It is our job now to bring them back to where we came from and present them to the authorities concerned for adoption and implementation so that we would be one step nearer our destiny. Fellow-delegates, our journey is long and task heavy. In the past two weeks, we worked hard and were good companions. We shall part company till we meet again in my country.

Mr. CRESSON (*Employers' delegate Singapore*), *Vice-President of the Conference* - - Co-operation, goodwill and appreciation has been the harmonious watchword struck by this Conference. For the workers it has been an opportunity to meet co-workers from various territories and make comparisons of their conditions and quality of work and welfare. This Conference has further given the workers the chance of realising that their complex of suspicion and antagonism towards the employer has been unfounded and that their “go slow” campaign is detrimental to progress and to themselves. For the employers, likewise, the comparison of conditions in various territories has brought about a realisation that in some territories the need of betterment is imperative. The goodwill displayed by the employers will have shown the workers that the appreciation by the employers with regard to the raising of the standard of living of the Asian worker is an asset to progress. For the Governments, this Conference has placed upon them the responsibility of establishing machinery for the control of both the working and the social conditions of labour. Further, it becomes the duty of Governments to umpire, so that the output of this machinery is justly and satisfactorily administered.

The results of the tripartite discussions in this Conference have been useful and valuable towards a better understanding and appreciation of each other's point of view. I would urge that such machinery for tripartite discussions be introduced in areas which are not as yet so equipped. We all must realise that this Conference cannot bear immediate material results, but expectation of action in the near future is justified. In concluding, I would express on behalf of the Employers' group our thanks and

appreciation* for the work and guidance rendered by our President and all I.L.O. officials and members. Were it not for their patience, guidance and planning, this Conference could not have achieved the success with which it has now terminated. I wish also to tender our thanks to the Government of India for its hospitality and co-operation, which made this Conference possible in such pleasant and dignified surroundings.

Mr. ROBERTS (*Workers' delegate, United Kingdom*), *Vice-President of the Conference* — I am speaking on behalf of the Workers' group in the place of Dr. Malik, who has had to leave. Therefore I have no prepared speech. I think the main result of this Conference has been its educational value. The knowledge of the terrific tasks which have to be carried out in the Asian region and the understandings which have been reached in the various groups give great promise for the future. The spirit of comradeship which has been exhibited during the whole of the Conference, the knowledge of what is required, the tasks that have to be performed, have all helped and educated and, as I say, given great promise for the future. I believe, and I think I am speaking on behalf of the group, that in the next conference in China we shall be able to get down to details much better as a result of this preliminary Conference than would have been possible under any other circumstances. I, too, would like to pay my tribute to the Secretary-General and the whole of the staff of the I.L.O. for the efficient way in which this Conference has been conducted. A tremendous lot of work has to be done in these conferences behind the scenes, and no one attending them as a superficial observer really knows the work that has to be performed. I want to pay my tribute, on behalf of the Workers' group, to the whole of the Office staff. The staff has been inadequate. Some of us have grumbled because we have not had material available at times; but knowing the deficiency in the staff, that is perfectly understandable, and the existing staff have certainly done a wonderful job. I too would like to pay our tribute to the Government of India for its hospitality, for the way it has treated us and for the facilities that have been provided for us. In conclusion, I would like to pay to you, Mr. President, our thanks for the wonderful way in which you have presided over this Conference. On behalf of the Workers' group, I wish to thank everyone who has had any connection with this Conference, and I hope that this is just the forerunner of better and greater conferences, with better and bigger results.

Mr. ERULKAR (*Employers' representative of the Governing Body*) — The Conference has completed its deliberations and we are entitled to ask ourselves how far our efforts have been successful. The success or failure of a conference depends upon those who organise it and upon those who participate in it. I, with my colleagues, Mr. Yllanos Ramos and Mr. Fennema, have the honour to represent the Employers' group of the Governing Body at this Conference. As such, we have deliberately not participated as fully in the discussions of the Conference as the other delegations have done. Therefore we are in a position to take a detached and an independent view of the results of this Conference. And may I say on behalf of my colleagues and myself that this Conference can justly and very properly claim to have achieved under your very distinguished and able leadership, Mr. President, an unqualified success? This was the first Labour Conference to be held in Asia. But for the determination to overcome all difficulties, fortified by indefatigable efforts

on the part of the organisers, and but for the laudable spirit of goodwill, understanding and conciliation on the part of the delegates, such excellent results could not have been achieved ; and I offer you, the Conference, my heartiest felicitations on the results achieved.

The Conference, when it started functioning, had before it an unusually large number of resolutions. I realise this was inevitable in view of the fact that, as this was the first conference of its kind in Asia, the Office reports had to cover very extensive ground. But, if I may say so, it might have facilitated the task of the Governing Body if the Conference had focused its attention on the more important and the more urgent questions, indicating priority in the light of the urgency required. As it is, if I may so put it, the Governing Body will have to decide for itself which questions to tackle first, due to the serious limitations—limitations which all such organisations have—on the task entrusted to them. The success of this Conference means not only a continuance, but even an extension, of the activities of the International Labour Organisation in this Asian region. The high level of discussion shown by the delegates indicates a wealth of knowledge, a live interest and an adequate appreciation of the urgency of the problems which their respective countries are faced with ; and if all these could be pooled with the experience of the various countries outside Asia, through the guidance of the International Labour Organisation, it would be to the great advantage of all concerned. I submit that the results that we have achieved at this Conference are an encouragement to having the activities of the Organisation in the Asian region continued and expanded, and not restricted by the general activities of the Organisation in Europe.

Before I close, I should like to join the previous speakers in thanking our hosts for the very generous hospitality and kindness extended to us. I should also like to pay my tribute to the staff from abroad and locally engaged for the very good job they have done in facilitating our stay here and in making our stay and our difficulties easier than they would otherwise have been. The staff of the Office, particularly, deserve to be congratulated. I think this is about the eighth or ninth country in which I have seen them work, and I must say to their credit that they put forward their work with the same efficiency despite the trying conditions and the strange conditions under which they are called upon to shoulder their task.

Mr. JOSHI (*Workers' representative of the Governing Body*) — We must congratulate ourselves upon the success of this Conference. Fellow delegates, you will agree with me that this success is firstly due to our President for his impartial and wise guidance. Secondly, the success is due to all of us, the delegates, for the spirit of harmony, compromise and goodwill that we showed all round in our conduct during the last two weeks. Thirdly, the success of this Conference is due to the hard and arduous work put in by the very able staff of the I.L.O.

The Conference in which we have taken part during the last two weeks was a fully representative one, comprising almost all the countries of this region. Let us hope that the deficiency, the small deficiency, that was felt in this Conference as regards the representation of two countries especially will be made good in the next conference, to be held in China. The representative character of this Conference indicates the full recognition of the need for the spirit of international collaboration shown by Asian countries. I have every hope that the spirit of international collaboration, co-operation and consultation will day by day increase and

develop so that the Asian region will hereafter and always take its fullest share in the work of the international organisations. The representation of all countries which we have seen in this Conference makes it quite clear, if that were necessary, that there is no spirit of isolationism on this continent. We are all believers in international action.

If we are to judge the results of this Conference from the resolutions, I feel that, although these resolutions are, as is inevitable, compromise resolutions, the result on the whole must be regarded as satisfactory. The method of the International Labour Organisation is that of compromise and agreement, and therefore we have all to be satisfied if we come to acceptable compromises in our deliberations. Although we must all accept compromises and agreements, let me make one thing clear: that the Asian region is very backward as compared to the other advanced regions, and we have no desire—at least, the workers of the Asian region have no desire—to remain backward for a long time. Therefore we shall try our very best to make our progress a little faster than the progress which is being made by the advanced countries. Only then can we have some hope of catching up with the advanced countries of the world in the near future. Therefore I would make an appeal, not only to the Governments represented here, but also to the employers, that we progress faster. Unless we do so, the workers at least will not be satisfied.

Let me also say this: during recent times many countries in Asia have become free, and we have every hope that within a very short time all countries in Asia will be free. I know from the spirit of the people in my own country that these countries which have become free want to be, at an early date, first-rate nations. They will not be content to be second-rate nations. Let me therefore tell the representatives of Governments here that you cannot build up a first-rate nation with third-rate conditions of life and work for the masses of workers and peasants in this region. Therefore, let us all—the Governments, employers and workers—put forward our very best effort to improve the conditions of life and work for the masses of workers and peasants in this region. Remembering that the standard of life of the workers depends on the industrial and economic development of this region, let us also all together—Governments, employers and workers—put forward our best endeavour to develop all countries in this region industrially and economically.

Those of us who have accepted these resolutions as a compromise and as agreed decisions do not want to be content with a lower and a different standard of life and work for the Asian regions. We know the difficulties of the countries of the Asian regions, we know that at present they lag far behind, and therefore we are prepared to allow some time to the Governments and employers to catch up with the more advanced parts of the world. But we shall never allow either the Governments or the employers to impose permanently a lower standard of life on the people of Asia.

This Conference has passed a resolution proposing some additional arrangements in the Governing Body for carrying on the work of this Conference in Asian regions. I have no doubt that the Governing Body will give its best consideration to this resolution. It is true that the development of these regional conferences and other regional arrangements proposed by us will put some strain on the resources of the I.L.O., but I am sure the Governing Body realises—and the whole Organisation realises—that if this Organisation is to make its influence felt equally in all regions, the Organisation will have to bear that strain. And I hope the Governments

of the Member States of the Organisation will enable the I.L.O. and its Governing Body to possess all the necessary resources for this purpose.

Sir, I thank you again for your impartial and very wise guidance of this Conference.

Interpretation: The SECRETARY-GENERAL: It is customary at the closing of any session of the International Labour Conference for the Secretary-General of the Conference to sum up in a few words his impressions of the debates that have taken place. If on this occasion I ask your permission to depart from that rule, it is for two very good reasons. I would like to ask your permission to be replaced on this occasion by my friend and colleague, Mr. Rao. As you all know, the preparations for this Conference were carried out by a mission which was sent by the Office a year ago and which visited a number of the Asian countries. That mission collected much of the information which was summarised in the reports submitted as a basis for your deliberations. Mr. Rao was in charge of that mission and admirably completed his task, both in the collecting of information and in the co-ordinating, drafting and editing of the various reports submitted to you.

My second reason is that, having listened for a fortnight to a number of speakers from the various countries of Asia in this hall, I have come to the conclusion that these speakers are distinguished by the polished language they use, by the clarity of their thought and by the delicacy of their sentiments. I therefore feel that it is only fitting that it should be one of you—who is also one of us—who speaks on this occasion, and I ask you, Mr. President, that my place be taken on this rostrum by Mr. Rao.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL (Mr. RAO) — I have to communicate to the Conference a message received from the Director-General of the International Labour Office, Mr. Edward Phelan. The message is as follows:

“ The Secretary-General has kept me informed day by day of the progress of your work; and now that the Conference reaches its conclusion, I wish to send my congratulations to all delegates on the results which have been achieved. The delegates of the Asian peoples, speaking with a full sense of the responsibilities which those peoples have for their future destiny, have affirmed their determination to pursue actively the great cause of social justice and have defined practical steps to be taken to this end. At the same time they have shown how fully they realise that their own efforts must be complemented by effective international collaboration and understanding. This manifestation of the determination of the Asian peoples will be of the greatest encouragement to the International Labour Organisation as a whole and to all who are striving to build that foundation of international co-operation which is indispensable for the achievement of better conditions of living for the peoples of the world as a whole. I wish delegates every success as they return to their own countries to continue their share of the task and I know I can confidently promise that the International Labour Organisation on its side will do everything in its power to assist and complement their efforts. ”

I should like to take this opportunity to associate myself fully with what has been said here about the part you, Sir, have played, in the first

place, in the preparations for this Conference, and, secondly, in guiding its deliberations. A first conference of this kind marks an important step in the history of the Organisation. As the Chairman of the Governing Body said in his opening address, a great deal was expected from this Conference. If, as many of us here believe, it has fulfilled these expectations, this result is in no small measure due to the unsparing assistance received in the preparations for the meeting from you and your officers in the Ministry of Labour. Our grateful thanks are due to you and to them for this help.

It is well to recall at this time that this Conference was convened as a result of the approval by the Governing Body of a proposal to that effect made by the Director-General of the International Labour Office. On behalf of the Secretary-General, I should like to thank the members of the Governing Body for their decisions, and more particularly, the Asian members, Mr. Li Ping-heng, Mr. Erulkar and Mr. Joshi—as also Mr. Pao and Mr. Lall—whose devotion to the Organisation enabled them to overcome the many difficulties in the way of holding this Conference.

It may be further recalled that, as part of the preparations for this Conference, a mission consisting of officials of the International Labour Office visited several Asian countries. The mission was most cordially received in all the countries visited and every possible assistance was accorded to it. I should also like to acknowledge here our indebtedness for this help. It has been a real pleasure to meet in the delegations assembled here friends from many countries : Mr. Djang, U Saw Lwin, Mr. Baker, U Kun Zaw, Mr. Robertson, Thakin Lwin, Mr. Ponniah, Mr. Macfadzean, Mr. Grey, Mr. Aslam, Mr. Bhupavesa, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Kumar, Miss Hinder and several others, who have taken a keen interest in the plans for this Conference and who came here to take part in its work. Mr. Hai-fong Cheng, Director of the China branch office of the International Labour Office and Assistant Secretary-General of this Conference, has been closely associated with the arrangements for the Conference at every step, and his assistance has been invaluable.

I must also acknowledge with thanks the kind expressions of appreciation of the work of the Secretariat of the Conference. This work has been particularly arduous because of the small number of experienced staff from Geneva and Montreal. Our thanks are due to the Clerk of the Conference, the staff in charge of the *Provisional Record*, the secretaries and staffs of the different committees, the interpreters, stenographers, and last but not least, the Scouts, whose unostentatious good deeds have been of immense help, and all those who by their devotion to duty ensured the smooth working of this Conference. Among these I should like to mention in particular the members of the staff of the Government of India Secretariat and of the Chinese and Indian branch offices who have been attached to the Conference staff. The task of the Indian branch office, headed by Mr. Matthew, has been particularly heavy. The successful integration of the Conference staff, composed of diverse elements, has in itself been no small achievement and is in its own way a real contribution to international solidarity.

The end of our labours, which is now in sight, marks no more than a starting point for the extension of the activities of the Organisation in this part of the world, as was pointed out by the Secretary-General in reply to the discussion on the Director-General's Report. It is for the members of this Conference, to whose earnestness and spirit of mutual accommodation the success of this Conference is due above all, to take

up this task on their return to their respective countries. It is for them to avail themselves fully of the resources of the Organisation and to add to these resources their own indispensable contribution, so that in the fulness of time the Declaration of Philadelphia, to which frequent reference was made at this Conference, is implemented and the one world which statesmen in the East as well as in the West are intent on building is made a reality. It only remains for me to wish you all a safe journey back home and godspeed in your endeavours.

Sir Guildhaume MYRDDIN-EVANS (*Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.L.O.*) — The task of the Chairman of the Governing Body at the close of this Conference is both an easy and a pleasant one. It is first to express again and re-echo the expressions of gratitude which have already been voiced by so many speakers: to the Government of India for making this Conference possible and for the arrangements which they made in order to permit its successful conclusions; in particular, to the distinguished Prime Minister of this country, Pandit Nehru, who graced the Conference with his presence and enlightened us with his address at the first session; and then to you, Sir, who, both in the preparations for this Conference and after, through long hours of physical pain have guided the deliberations of this Conference with a sweetness, wisdom and generosity which, I believe, can never have been surpassed in the annals of chairmanship. We rejoice to see the visual evidence of your recovery during the last two weeks. We hope that you will soon completely recover and be enabled to devote yourself once again to the work which we know you have so much at heart. Then I should express our thanks to Mr. Lall, who, hardly recovered from a very serious accident, ignored the orders of his doctors to take leave and threw himself heart and soul into the preparations for this Conference. Mr. Lall is another example of the theory which I formed long ago that the best way of complete recovery from a serious illness is to work harder than ever before. With Mr. Lall we would like to associate his colleagues in the Ministry of Labour who have helped in the preparatory work of this Conference and have made it possible. Then, it would not be fitting for the Chairman of the Governing Body not to express his appreciation once again of the work of the staff of the Office. If I may use a colloquialism, they have done it again. As I have said before, and I repeat again, in efficiency, in loyalty and in devotion there is no staff of any organisation or any Government in the whole world which surpasses that of the International Labour Organisation. The gratitude not merely of the Governing Body but of all present here is due to them and they should know that they are appreciated.

I would like too to thank all those who have offered us hospitality both in their homes and more publicly. It has been overwhelming in its generosity. Indeed, I began to wonder whether the Conference could get through its work with such hospitality lavished upon it. But that hospitality was in fact one of the means of doing what Mr. Roberts has described as perhaps one of the best outcomes of this Conference, the means of enabling us all to make contacts with each other. We have renewed old friendships, we have made new friendships, we shall carry the memories of those back to our countries with us and look forward to meeting again with those whom we have met either twice or thrice or even for the first time at this Conference. Indeed, we shall carry back with us—those of us who have to try to wring a little money from out of hard-hearted treasuries—the argument with which we shall hope to defeat

them in the future. To them we shall be able to say that owing to this hospitality, or at least in part owing to this hospitality, this Conference has been able to get through a six weeks' job in two weeks.

The Conference will, I know, wish to place on record its appreciation of the very generous invitation conveyed by Mr. Pao from the Government of China to hold the next regional conference in China. There can be no doubt of the gratitude all members will feel to the Government of China for that invitation; and when that invitation is conveyed to the Governing Body, I am quite sure that they will wish to accept it with acclamation and with great appreciation. This, as other speakers have said, is the first Labour Conference to be held in Asia. It is, I hope, not going to be by any means the last, and I am particularly glad of that paragraph in one of the resolutions put forward from the Selection Committee and unanimously approved by the Conference which proposes that meetings of the I.L.O.—not merely regional conferences, but the General Conference, Governing Body, industrial committees and so forth—should be held, not in one place, but in every part of the world. That is something which has been very close to my mind for many years and I am glad that it has been put in concrete terms on paper, so that the Governing Body will have it before them in that form. As far as I am personally concerned, I can assure this Conference that it will be my endeavour as long as I am associated with it that that particular resolution is carried into effect, because I believe that in that way we shall do more good than by just meeting in one place.

About the results of this Conference, I will confess now that in the confidence which I expressed in my opening remarks two weeks ago my words were braver than my feelings; and when I saw the plethora of resolutions which came before this Conference, my feelings suffered an even further decline. But as the result of co-operation, conciliation and goodwill, for which the I.L.O. is properly renowned but which I believe have never been surpassed in any conference I have attended, we have come through with a really workmanlike job, and that co-operation and goodwill augur well for the future. Those of us who have come here as delegates from the Governing Body can return and report to the Governing Body that in our view this Conference has been a great success, and I believe that if we project into the future the spirit of looking forward and also the spirit of co-operation which has been displayed in this Conference, then we need have no fear for the future of the International Labour Organisation. What is more, and this is far more important, we need have no fears for the happiness, the material prosperity and the freedom of the peoples of the earth.

The PRESIDENT — Friends, the practice of having speeches at the end of the Conference is useful inasmuch as it affords an opportunity to have a bird's eye view of our achievements; but it proves a very trying time for the President, when speakers come to confer their admiration and praise on him. It is all the more trying in my case when I feel that those praises, admiration and tributes are undeserved. If anybody has earned such praises and admiration, they are my friends the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, Mr. Pao, Mr. Cresson and Dr. Malik, who guided the deliberations of the Conference in my absence. You have also paid your compliments to the Government of India and to the Ministry of Labour for the trouble they took in making preparations for the Conference. I feel flattered, but in this case also all these compliments, I would say,

are undeserved. We wanted to do something more. We are alive to the fact that we have not been able to do as much as we could have wished and to make proper arrangements for your comfort. We had our limitations. We made our best efforts, but there were many shortcomings, many defects, and it is only through your generosity that you have come and paid compliments on our arrangements.

The Conference, as the previous speakers have already said, has been an unqualified success. The success of the Conference is due to the effort of every delegate, and if we are to congratulate ourselves on the success of the Conference, we will be quite justified. But the main share of the success of the Conference should go to the various committees which the Conference set up for the different items on the agenda. The committees were the place where real work was done, and the work of the committees has demonstrated one thing beyond all doubt: that if there is goodwill, if there is co-operation, and, above all, if there is a determination to do something, to produce something, the employers and the employees can co-operate to bring about something which can be very rightly termed a success. And if we apply the results of the work of the committees, much of the trouble which not only the Asian countries but all other countries are facing will be over. So we have to thank the members of the various committees for the success of the Conference.

I must also thank the able and expert staff of the I.L.O. for the guidance which they gave to the work of the Conference, for guiding the deliberations of the various committees, and for rendering all possible help in making the work of this Conference a success. On this occasion, though I regret the absence of the Director-General very much, I must acknowledge that the gap has been very ably filled by the presence of Mr. Jef Rens and Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, Chairman of the Governing Body. They have contributed to a very great extent to the success of this Conference and I thank them very much. To the local staff of the I.L.O., our thanks are also due, and if I thank the officers and staff of the Ministry of Labour of the Government of India, I am afraid I will be thanking myself, but it will not be out of place to express a few words of appreciation of all the trouble that they took in making arrangements for this Conference.

As regards the achievements of the Conference, it would be better to leave it to the future historian to say how successful this Conference has been. I will not attempt even a bird's eye view of the great and magnificent results that we have achieved. But this success was expected. The Asian countries have also got a mission, a mission not only for the improvement of the lot of the working classes, a mission not only to improve the social conditions in their own countries, but a mission which is far nobler, more sublime: a mission to make the world happier and nobler, and that is possible only if we draw closer and closer to other countries. Today, in this Conference, we are not representatives only of the Asian countries, only of the Asian region, but also this Conference is really an international one. Representatives from America and representatives from European countries are also present here, and, as every speaker has stressed, it is international collaboration which is urgently required at the present time. The world, which is still bleeding after the stresses of the great and total war, and which has been torn asunder by the conflict of ideas, is all the more in need of being put together so that exploitation may end and so that peoples may understand one another more and more, and may be able to interchange ideas with a view to having a happier

world. The I.L.O. mission to improve the conditions of the working classes is not an end in itself. So far as I have been able to understand it, it is a means to an end, and it should be a means to an end. The real end is to have a world devoid of all conflicts, devoid of all exploitation, where every individual may feel that he is free—and Asian countries which are now one by one attaining their freedom should recognise the fact that freedom does not mean anything if it does not mean freedom for the individual. That freedom will come only when everybody will be in a position not to be exploited by another body, when everybody will be in a position to develop his moral and material wellbeing according to his wishes and to the benefit of the society. If we look at the resolutions that we have adopted here, we will find that they will go a long way in contributing to that end. Therefore, I say that the resolutions that we have adopted are not an end in themselves but are means to an end, which is a happier world. If the Asian countries, by giving effect to those resolutions, succeed in creating an atmosphere which will encourage mutual understanding and closer co-operation and collaboration, the idea of international collaboration will be greatly strengthened. In that respect we have achieved a great success and if we congratulate ourselves on that success, as I have remarked earlier, we will not be unjustified.

The Conference, I need not stress, is a prelude to other conferences. This time it was the proud privilege of India to welcome friends and delegates from so many not only Asian but other countries of the world. The next time it will be the privilege of that great country China, the cradle of civilisation, to welcome the delegates in 1949, and I am sure that Conference will be a still greater success.

I am sure the Governing Body and the staff of the I.L.O. will take a greater and keener interest in the work in Asian countries not only because the level of social standards in these countries has to be brought up, but also because the standards of social security in Western countries have to be emulated. The world has contracted so much today that the effect of any action in the Asian countries will not fail to be noticed in the Western countries as well. So, in the interest of the Western countries themselves, it is necessary—I will rather say, imperative—that the social standards in Asian countries should also be raised. From that angle of view it is necessary that the International Labour Organisation should take a keener interest in the affairs of the Asian countries; and as the Secretary-General has said, they will do so. I thank them for that.

I once more thank all the friends—the delegates and the advisers, the staff of the I.L.O. and of the branch offices—for the keen interest that they have taken in the deliberations of the Conference and the contribution that they have made towards its success. With these thanks, I declare the Conference formally closed.

(The Conference closed at 12.45 p.m.)

THIRD PART

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Standing Orders : Text adopted by the Conference

(At its First Sitting, on 27 October 1947, the Conference adopted, without amendment, proposed Standing Orders of the Conference.¹)

ARTICLE I

Composition of the Conference

1. The following shall be entitled to take part in the Conference as delegates :

- (a) two Government delegates, one Employers' delegate, and one Workers' delegate for each State or territory invited by the International Labour Organisation to be represented at the Conference ;
- (b) the members of the special delegation to the Conference of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

2. (1) Delegates from States or territories invited by the International Labour Organisation to be represented at the Conference may be accompanied by advisers, and any such delegate may by notice in writing addressed to the President appoint one of his advisers to act as his substitute.

(2) An adviser who is acting as substitute for his delegate may speak and vote under the same conditions as the delegate whom he is replacing.

3. States or territories invited by the International Labour Organisation to be represented at the Conference which are federal in structure may appoint representatives of their respective states or provinces to accompany their delegations.

4. States or territories invited by the International Labour Organisation to be represented at the Conference which are responsible for the international relations of territories under their protection or suzerainty may appoint representatives of such territories to accompany their delegations.

5. Any Member of the International Labour Organisation and any State which is not a Member of the International Labour Organisation which has been invited to be so represented by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office may be represented at the Conference by an observer.

¹ See *Second Part : First Sitting*, p. 12.

6. Ministers from States or territories represented at the Conference or from the constituent states or provinces thereof whose departments deal with the questions discussed by the Conference and who are not delegates or advisers may address the Conference if they are invited to do so by the President.

7. Representatives of the United Nations shall be entitled to attend the Conference and to participate in its deliberations in accordance with the terms of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation.

8. Representatives of other official international organisations which have been invited by the International Labour Organisation to be represented at the Conference may participate in its deliberations in accordance with the terms of the invitations extended to them.

ARTICLE 2

The Officers of the Conference

1. The Conference shall elect as officers a President and three Vice-Presidents, all of whom shall be of different nationalities.

2. The three Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Conference on the nomination of the Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates respectively.

3. The officers of the Conference shall also, if the Conference so decides, include an Honorary President.

ARTICLE 3

Duties of the President

1. It shall be the duty of the President to declare the opening and closing of the sittings, to bring before the Conference any communications which may concern it, to direct the debates, maintain order, ensure the observance of these Standing Orders by such means as circumstances may demand, accord or withdraw the right to address the Conference, put questions to the vote, and announce the result of the vote.

2. The President shall not take part in the debates and shall not vote, but, if himself a delegate, may appoint a substitute in accordance with the provisions of Article 1, paragraph 2 (1), of these Standing Orders.

3. If the President is absent during any sitting or part of a sitting, he shall be replaced by one of the Vice-Presidents, who shall act in rotation.

4. A Vice-President acting as President shall have the same rights and duties as the President.

ARTICLE 4.

Secretariat

The Director-General of the International Labour Office, being charged with the organisation of the Conference, is responsible for the secretariat-general of the Conference and the secretariat services under its control, either directly or through a deputy appointed by him.

ARTICLE 5

Selection Committee

1. The following shall act as the Selection Committee of the Conference :

- (a) the President of the Conference ;
- (b) three members of the Special Delegation of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office elected by this Delegation ; and
- (c) six Government delegates, six Employers' delegates, and six Workers' delegates elected by the Government, Employers', and Workers' delegates respectively.

2. It shall be the duty of the Selection Committee to arrange the programme of the Conference, to fix the date and agenda for the plenary sittings, and to make proposals relating to the setting up and composition of other committees.

ARTICLE 6

The Verification of Credentials

The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be deposited with the secretariat of the Conference and shall be examined by the Selection Committee.

ARTICLE 7

Committees

1. Each committee shall select a chairman and two vice-chairmen chosen one from each of the three groups and one or more reporters to present the result of its deliberations to the Conference on its behalf.

2. Each committee shall set up in due course a drafting subcommittee consisting of one representative from each of the three groups, together with the reporter or reporters of the committee, the Secretary-General of the Conference or his representative, and the Legal Adviser of the Conference. The resolutions adopted by the committee shall, before they are submitted to the Conference, be considered by the drafting subcommittee, whose duty it shall be to propose any modifications of form which may be desirable and to ensure agreement between the versions of the resolutions in the different languages of the Conference.

ARTICLE 8

The Form of the Decisions of the Conference

The decisions of the Conference shall be expressed in the form of resolutions addressed to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

ARTICLE 9

The Right to Address the Conference

1. No delegate shall address the Conference without having asked and obtained permission of the President.

2. Speakers shall be called upon in the order in which they have signified their desire to speak.

3. The President may require a speaker to resume his seat if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion.

4. The Secretary-General of the Conference or his representatives may, with the permission of the President or chairman as the case may be, address the Conference or its committees.

5. Except with special consent of the Conference no speech shall exceed fifteen minutes exclusive of the time for translation.

6. Persons entitled to take part in the Conference as observers may with the permission of the President address the Conference during the general discussions.

ARTICLE IO

Resolutions, Amendments and Motions

1. Subject to the following rules, any delegate may move any motion, resolution or amendment.

2. No motion, resolution or amendment shall be discussed unless and until it has been seconded.

3. (1) Motions as to procedure may be moved without previous notice and without the handing in of a copy to the secretariat of the Conference.

(2) Motions as to procedure include the following :

(a) a motion to refer the matter back ;

(b) a motion to postpone consideration of the question ;

(c) a motion to adjourn the sitting ;

(d) a motion to adjourn the debate on a particular question ;

(e) a motion that the Conference proceed with the next item on the agenda for the sitting.

4. (1) Subject to the provisions of the preceding paragraph, no resolution or amendment shall be moved at any sitting of the Conference unless a copy thereof has been handed in to the secretariat of the Conference.

(2) Whenever possible the text of resolutions and amendments shall be circulated by the secretariat before a vote is taken.

5. No resolution relating to any matter not included in the agenda of the Conference shall be discussed at any sitting of the Conference unless and until it has been considered by the Selection Committee and until twenty-four hours have elapsed since the circulation to the Conference of the report of the Selection Committee thereon.

ARTICLE II

Voting

1. Every delegate shall be entitled to vote individually upon every question considered by the Conference.

2. Decisions shall be taken by a simple majority of the votes cast by the delegates to the Conference present at the sitting.
3. The Conference shall vote by a show of hands or by a record vote.
4. If the result of a vote by a show of hands is challenged, the President shall cause a record vote to be taken.
5. A record vote shall also be taken when a request to that effect is made by not less than ten delegates present at the sitting.
6. The vote shall be recorded by the secretariat and announced by the President.
7. No resolution, amendment or motion shall be adopted if an equal number of votes are cast for and against.

ARTICLE 12

Closure

1. Any delegate may move the closure either on a particular amendment or on the general question.
2. The President shall put a motion for the closure if it is supported by at least one fifth of the delegates present at the sitting, but before putting it to the vote shall read out the names of those persons who have already signified their wish to speak and the said persons shall still have the right to speak after the closure has been voted.
3. If application is made for permission to speak against the closure, it shall be accorded to one speaker from each group.
4. If the closure is voted, one member from each group no member of which is included in the list of persons who have already signified their wish to speak may on the request of the chairman of the group speak on the question under discussion.

ARTICLE 13

Undelivered Speeches

Speeches or parts of speeches that have not been delivered at the Conference shall not be published in the Record of the Conference.

ARTICLE 14

Languages

1. The English and French languages shall be the official languages of the Conference.
2. Delegates may address the Conference in either of the official languages.
3. The secretariat shall make such arrangements for the interpretation of speeches and translation of documents as are necessary to meet the convenience of delegates and practicable with the facilities and staff available.

APPENDIX II

Selection Committee

(1) Text of resolutions submitted in accordance with Article 10 of the Standing Orders of the Conference and considered by the Selection Committee.¹

29. *Proposed resolution concerning the economic policies necessary for the attainment in Asia of the social objectives of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.*

Whereas the Declaration of Philadelphia reaffirms that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere; and

Whereas poverty is the basic factor retarding social progress in Asia and such progress cannot be achieved without the adoption of economic policies designed to secure greater productivity and a fairer distribution of wealth; and

Whereas the Declaration of Philadelphia also affirms that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material wellbeing and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, and that the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy; and enunciates the responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective; and

Whereas it is therefore desirable that the representatives of Governments, employers and workers assembled at the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation should, in addition to making specific proposals concerning labour standards, the mobility and training of labour, industrial relations, social security and similar questions and framing a programme of action for the progressive application in Asia of the provisions of the International Labour Code, also formulate for consideration by the appropriate national and international authorities their views in regard to the economic policies necessary for the attainment in the Asian countries of the social objectives of the Organisation;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to bring the following considerations to the attention of the Governments represented at the Conference, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and

¹ The resolutions submitted to the Conference, 52 in number, were referred to the Selection Committee, which assigned those numbered 1-28, 39, 44, 48 and 49 to the committees on items I-III of the agenda (see second and third reports of the Selection Committee, sections 3 and 4 below, pp. 196 and 197) and decided that it would itself consider the remaining 22 resolutions.

the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the International Trade Organisation when established, and such other international bodies as may have primary responsibility for international action in respect of the various measures suggested; and to arrange for such further studies of the problems of economic development as may be calculated to assist the Asian countries in implementing the objectives of the International Labour Organisation to be made by the International Labour Office or other appropriate international bodies.

I. PROVISION OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT FOR EXCESS AGRICULTURAL POPULATION

1. In most Asian countries there exists a great excess of agricultural population in relation to the available supply of cultivable land.
2. This agricultural overpopulation, manifesting itself in the smallness of the average size of farm and in the insufficiency of income derived therefrom to provide an average rural family with a minimum subsistence level of living, is a key factor in the poverty of Asia.
3. Effective steps should therefore be taken to provide new opportunities of productive employment in manufacturing and service industries which will absorb excess agricultural population.

II. EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURAL POPULATION

4. Notwithstanding industrial development, agriculture will for a long time to come remain the chief source of income for the majority of the population of the Asian countries.
5. The expansion of agricultural as well as industrial production must therefore be regarded as a primary objective of the economic policy of the Asian countries.
6. With a view to expanding agricultural production, measures should be taken—
 - (a) to bring into cultivation arable land hitherto unutilised;
 - (b) to increase yields per unit of land by the control of insects and diseases, the use of more and better fertilisers, the improvement of seeds and the adoption of improved methods of cultivation;
 - (c) to increase agricultural output per worker by the improvement of agricultural implements and wherever economically feasible, by the introduction of labour-saving machinery;
 - (d) to establish agricultural implement stations operated by Governments for the purpose of lending such implements to agriculturists in need of them;
 - (e) to improve the organisation of farm enterprises by the consolidation of fragmentary holdings and the development of co-operative farms;
 - (f) to raise productivity of animal husbandry and fisheries.
7. Provision should be made for large-scale public investment in water and soil conservation schemes and irrigation and drainage works.

III. FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME

8. A fair distribution of agricultural income is of primary importance for the social and economic wellbeing of the agrarian population.

9. With a view to securing a fair distribution of agricultural income measures should be taken—

- (a) to prohibit usury and establish rural credit institutions to facilitate the provision to agriculturists of non-interest bearing loans for financing essential consumption needs and of short, medium and long term loans at low rates of interest for productive purposes ;
- (b) to reduce to a minimum the tax burden of low-income agriculturists ;
- (c) to fix agricultural rents at a reasonable level, afford greater security of land tenure and promote a more equal distribution of land ownership ;
- (d) to improve the organisation of agricultural marketing and, more particularly, to encourage the development of co-operative marketing.

10. In formulating agricultural policy for areas whose economy is at present based upon export crops the prices of which are subject to wide fluctuations consequent upon cyclical and long-term changes in the world conditions of demand and supply, special consideration should be given to—

- (a) the desirability and economic possibilities of diversification of crops ; and
- (b) the desirability of intergovernmental arrangements designed to promote greater stability of prices and to bring about prompt and orderly adjustments of international demand and supply of such products.

IV. CAPITAL FORMATION

11. Capital formation on a large scale is of central importance as a means of raising productivity and national income in the Asian countries. Such capital formation should be accelerated by measures—

- (a) to promote the most efficient utilisation of unemployed and under-employed human and material resources ;
- (b) to achieve rapid improvements in productive techniques, especially those requiring little or no capital expenditure, and in organisational efficiency in all lines of economic activity, so as to enable parts of resources to be released therefrom to capital formation without affecting the production of goods and services for current consumption ;
- (c) to introduce " utility schemes " in industries producing essential consumption goods ;
- (d) to augment the domestic supply of essential productive factors the scarcity of which is likely to retard the whole process of capital formation unless diverted, in significant quantities, from the production of goods and services for current consumption ;
- (e) to curtail the consumption of luxury and non-essential non-durable goods and services and to limit the acquisition of unnecessary consumers' capital goods by high-income classes ;

- (f) to increase the resources of foreign exchange needed for financing the imports of goods and services essential to capital formation ; and
- (g) to encourage the inflow of foreign capital in the form of private and intergovernmental lending, direct investment and loans from the appropriate international agencies on terms beneficial to all parties concerned.

12. In early stages of economic development, the process of capital formation is liable, unless adequate safeguards are adopted, to involve an increase in money incomes accompanied by shortages of consumption goods which, by causing a cumulative price inflation, will both occasion greater inequalities in the distribution of income and arrest the process of capital formation itself. Policies of capital formation should therefore be formulated in such a way as to avoid as far as possible the use of methods of inflationary financing whenever the level of full employment is reached ; to the extent that such methods are employed, safeguards, including the following, should be taken to check inflationary effects—

- (a) fiscal measures designed to absorb excess monetary demand of the population ;
- (b) price controls over goods and services, particularly food, clothing and other daily necessities ;
- (c) encouragement of voluntary savings ;
- (d) limitation of demand for consumption goods by such means as rationing ; and
- (e) establishment and improvement of such administrative machinery as is necessary for effective enforcement of the above measures.

V. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

13. Appropriate measures should be taken to encourage private enterprise to play a constructive part in the industrial development of Asia ; these measures should include—

- (a) measures to improve the organisation of the capital and credit markets with a view to channelling monetary savings into the most productive fields of employment, and to reducing the rates of interest, long-term and short-term, to the lowest possible level ;
- (b) measures for the provision of adequate assistance, financial, technical and other, to newly established enterprises in need of such assistance ;
- (c) measures to secure wider knowledge of modern technology and scientific methods of business organisation and management, to train specialists in these fields and to promote organised industrial research ; and
- (d) measures to reduce the costs of capital equipment, transport and fuel needed for industrial production.

14. Public enterprise has an important part to play in initiating and promoting the industrial development of Asia and should be conducted in accordance with the following general principles :

- (a) Public enterprises should be so organised as to ensure that they are efficiently managed without political interference with the conduct of their operations.

- (b) The budgets of public enterprises should be treated separately from budgets for current governmental revenue and expenditure.
- (c) The budgetary and production policies of all public enterprises should be co-ordinated by a central authority.
- (d) The pricing policies of public enterprises should be framed in the light of long-run social objectives.

16. Every effort should be made, by such means as fiscal and credit policy and the direct control of investment, to direct private enterprise towards the industries the development of which will be most advantageous from the long-run economic point of view, having due regard to the country's legitimate requirements for national defence.

17. Effective measures should be taken to secure high standards of productive efficiency in existing industries, more particularly with regard to—

- (a) output per unit of labour, of capital, of fuel and of raw material ;
- (b) efficiency in the organisation of the industry, especially in respect of its size, financial position and structural balance ;
- (c) efficiency in marketing and distribution ; and
- (d) efficiency in labour-management co-operation.

18. Governments should ensure the maintenance of reasonable standards of industrial efficiency and should take prompt steps to facilitate the reorganisation of an industry on a more efficient basis whenever changes in the conditions of demand and supply beyond the control of that industry make such reorganisation necessary.

19. In order to ensure that the fruits of industrial development are passed on to the mass of the population, measures should be taken to prevent the overconcentration of economic power and to restrict the growth in inequality of distribution of income and wealth.

20. In order that handicraft or cottage industry may play a more effective part in providing supplementary employment and income for the rural population in Asian countries, the development of large-scale industries should be supplemented by a parallel programme for the modernisation and reorganisation of traditional handicraft or cottage industries and the development of new simple industries with small capital investment in rural districts ; in framing such a programme, special attention should be given to—

- (a) the desirability of developing industrial co-operatives as a method of organising small-scale industries ;
- (b) the need for co-ordinating the development of large-scale and small-scale industries in such a manner as to make them complementary to each other ; and
- (c) the importance of the part which can be played by Governments in preparing, initiating and promoting such a programme of industrial development, particularly with respect to—
 - (i) the financing of individual projects ;
 - (ii) the training of a sufficient number of technical personnel ; and
 - (iii) the provision of capital equipment specially designed to meet the needs of small-scale industries.

21. In the early stages of industrial development, special attention should be devoted to the improvement of communications, and the development of electric and hydraulic power.

22. Public works should be undertaken by the Governments with the object of creating productive employment for unemployed persons in cities as well as for the excess population in rural districts.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

23. Measures to improve the health and education of the producing population should be regarded as an essential feature of all policies for the improvement of economic productivity by the development of natural resources, and Governments should take the necessary steps to ensure the provision of adequate medical and educational facilities in connection with all major development projects.

24. The programmes of economic development undertaken by the Asian countries should, so far as practicable, be co-ordinated in such a way as to secure the maximum gains in international division of labour ; with this end in view, each Asian country should keep the appropriate international organisations informed of its prospective development programmes.

25. Measures taken by the Asian countries to deal with post-war economic restoration should so far as possible be so framed as to contribute towards the economic development of Asia on a long-term basis.

30. *Proposed resolution regarding international aid for the development of Asian countries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas the main features of the labour and the economic problems in Asian countries are the great pressure on the land, low productivity and underemployment, which have resulted in low wages, low standard of living, and lack of provision of essential social services, each factor reacting on another in a vicious circle ;

Whereas a real improvement in the standard of living of the people in Asian countries can be made possible only by the large-scale development of agriculture, land improvement and industrialisation schemes which, while increasing very considerably the productivity of the land, will lessen the pressure on the land by providing alternative employments for the surplus population ;

Whereas the Asian countries lack the mechanical equipment and technical knowledge necessary for developing their capacity for production and for ensuring employment at a high level ;

Whereas it is of international interest to provide these countries with equipment, technical assistance and financial credit so that a high level of production and employment can be promoted not only in Asian countries, but throughout the world ; and

Whereas these countries need assistance with supplies of food and essential consumers' goods during the period of development ;

The Conference invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to support the efforts of the Asian countries to obtain the

necessary equipment, financial and technical assistance, food and essential consumers' goods which they need while developing their capacity for production and employment at a high level—

- (a) by arranging for these problems to be considered by the International Labour Conference ; and
- (b) by drawing the attention of the competent organisations of the United Nations to the importance of providing speedy and effective assistance to the Asian countries in the interest of promoting a high level of production and employment in these countries and throughout the world, thus ensuring the maintenance of lasting peace based on social justice and the elimination of poverty.

31. *Proposed resolution concerning inflation, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas all the countries of Asia represented at the Conference have had their economy disrupted or dislocated by war ;

Whereas as a result of such disruption or dislocation their productive capacities have considerably declined, and consequently they are suffering acute shortages of essential commodities and services ;

Whereas these shortages have given rise to inflationary trends, which in some countries have assumed unhealthy proportions and, if not checked, will further reduce the real wages and lower the standard of living of the peoples of these countries ;

Recognising that a concerted and determined drive for increased production is the most effective method of fighting the inflationary trends ;

Recognising, further, the need for taking prompt and effective measures to prevent hoarding, speculative trading and black marketing and to bring about a just relationship between wages and salaries and commodity prices ;

The Conference urges upon the Governments of its members to take all necessary steps to check inflationary tendencies, so that the standards of living may not suffer further deterioration, and requests the representatives of employers and workers present at this Conference to bring to the attention of their constituents the importance of co-operating with and actively assisting the Governments in their anti-inflationary policies.

The Conference further requests the Governments to seek the active aid of responsible organisations of employers and workers in formulating measures for enhancing production.

32. *Proposed resolution to secure fair terms of exchange for exports from undeveloped countries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas the economies of many of the countries represented at the Conference are built wholly or to a large extent upon industries or occupations catering for export markets ;

Whereas the advancement of the social standards and wellbeing of the peoples of these countries is consequently dependent upon the maintenance of stable and fair terms of exchange for their exports,

The Conference invites the Governing Body to study, in consultation with appropriate international organisations, the means of preventing fluctuations in the values of raw materials and goods exported from these countries and of ensuring fair terms of exchange.

33. *Proposed resolution regarding the constitution of an Asian labour committee, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Fully appreciating the value of the work of the International Labour Conference in regard to the formulation of social standards ;

Firmly convinced, at the same time, that the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers in Asian countries, who constitute the great majority of the working population of the world, can be secured only by a systematic study of the special problems of these countries with due regard to the present stage of economic development of these countries and their human and material resources ;

This Conference requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to set up a tripartite Asian regional committee, within the framework of the International Labour Organisation, for the systematic treatment of the special problems of Asia and for assisting the general meetings of the Organisation in considering Asian aspects of the questions dealt with at such meetings, made up, in the first instance, of all Asian countries represented at this Conference, and with powers to add to their number when necessary, and with the following functions, among others :

- (a) preparation of a programme of action designed to bring the regional labour standards into conformity with general international standards, and to report regularly to the Asian regional conference as well as to the sessions of the General Conference, on social progress generally ;
- (b) collection and publication in Asian languages of information on labour conditions in the region ;
- (c) preparation of Asian regional conferences and other regional meetings to consider technical questions ;
- (d) submission to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of questions of special interest to the region, to be placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference ; and
- (e) provision of assistance to the International Labour Office in the preparation of studies and reports in respect of Asian aspects of labour problems.

The Conference also requests that the committee be provided with a secretariat stationed in the region.

34. *Proposed resolution regarding the steps to be taken to secure a fuller participation of Asian countries in the activities and deliberations of the International Labour Organisation and Conference, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas the Asian countries contain a great majority of the working population of the world ;

Whereas, to enable the International Labour Organisation to fulfil its mission of promoting social justice, eliminating poverty and assisting the economic and social development of the less developed countries of the world, it is of the utmost importance that all possible steps should be taken to promote and secure the fullest participation of the Asian countries in the work and deliberations of the International Labour Organisation ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to give urgent consideration to the question of securing the direct participation of Asian countries which are in the enjoyment of full autonomy in respect of the administration of social affairs, though not yet responsible for their international relations.

35. *Proposed resolution regarding the cost of travelling expenses to meetings of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas the inability to bear the financial burden entailed by the sending of delegations to distant places is the main reason for the partial participation or non-participation of Asian countries by means of tripartite delegations at the sessions of the International Labour Conference ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to give urgent consideration to the question of assisting Asian countries to send adequate tripartite delegations to the sessions of the International Labour Conference and meetings held under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation, by undertaking to meet the cost of travelling expenses of at least the minimum necessary complement.

36. *Proposed resolution regarding real wages after the war, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that the purchasing power of a vast majority of industrial workers in the Asian region has decreased considerably since the war for various reasons, such as failure on the part of the Governments concerned to check inflation and rise in prices and to evolve a policy for the proper distribution of all essential commodities ; and

Considering, further, that the purchasing power of the workers in Asia was already low even before the war ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to call the attention of the Governments concerned to the immediate need for devising ways and means, first, to increase the purchasing power of the workers so as at least to bring it into line with the pre-war level, and secondly, to raise it by definite stages by adopting such measures as may be necessary, including an effective check on inflation and the evolution of a proper wage-price policy.

37. *Proposed resolution regarding seafarers, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that the conditions of Asian seafarers require special attention on account of certain circumstances which are peculiar to them, such as their employment mostly on foreign ships, racial discrimination, grave abuses in the method of recruitment, and serious deficiency in their diet ; and

Considering that the question of Asian seafarers is of great international significance in view of the fact that they constitute more than one third of the total seafaring population of the world and that their unsatis-

factory conditions of life and work not only expose them to misery and want but also tend to lower the general standard of all seafarers of the world ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to direct the Office to conduct an exhaustive enquiry into the conditions of Asian seafarers and to convene at an early date a maritime session of the Asian Regional Conference to consider their problems.

38. *Proposed resolution regarding the establishment of a permanent Asian regional committee, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation requests the Governing Body of the I.L.O. that a permanent Asian regional committee of the I.L.O. be established with a view to facilitating a careful study of labour questions in Asian countries and also to indicating the lines on which a progressive labour policy may be evolved for the Asian region.

In order to make the work of this committee effective, an Asian regional office of the I.L.O. shall be established in Asia with a director and adequate staff.

The permanent Asian regional committee shall consist of 39 members. Thirty-six of these members shall be nominated by an Asian regional conference, each group, representing Governments, employers and work-people, to select twelve members, and the remaining three members shall be appointed by the Governing Body of the I.L.O., representing respectively the Government group, the employers' group and the workers' group of the Governing Body. The permanent Asian regional committee shall meet from time to time when convened by the Director-General of the I.L.O. with the approval of the Governing Body as occasion demands.

The permanent Asian regional committee shall be entrusted with the following tasks among others :

- (a) suggesting to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. the convocation of future Asian regional conferences and also items on the agenda of such conferences ;
- (b) directing the Asian regional office of the I.L.O. to undertake studies from time to time of questions to be suggested by the committee ;
- (c) preparing national programmes for different countries in the Asian region with a view to assisting those countries in the formulation and enforcement of progressive labour policy ;
- (d) devising ways and means for securing early ratification of international labour Conventions and acceptance of international labour Recommendations by countries in Asia.

40. *Proposed resolution regarding the organisation of an I.L.O. fact-finding mission, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.*

Whereas considerable importance is attached by the Governments of Asian countries to the improvement of labour conditions in Asia ; and

Whereas this Conference has this object in view and it is realised that any attempt in this regard must have ample factual basis ;

The Conference recommends to the International Labour Office that—

- (a) a fact-finding mission of I.L.O. experts be organised to make a prolonged visit to Asian countries for the purpose of gathering detailed materials and data on labour conditions in this region as a basis for action at the first session of the Asian regional conference to be held in China ;
- (b) a request be made to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to the effect that Asian regional machinery of the International Labour Office should be set up in the near future to do the work regularly ; and
- (c) I.L.O. correspondents be stationed in such places as Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, the Philippines, Siam, etc., for the purpose of collecting material on labour conditions in the territories concerned and making the work of the Office better known over a wider area in Asia.

41. *Proposed resolution on the Asian industrial level, submitted by Mr. Wu, Employers' delegate, China.*

Whereas Asian countries are still largely in the stage of pre-industrialisation and are using mainly traditional methods of production ;

Whereas it has been almost impossible to obtain full employment and a high record of productivity when industries are forced to reduce the cost of production in order to compete with foreign economic dumping by cutting wages of workers, whose standards of living are thereby considerably lowered ; and

Whereas for the purpose of increasing opportunities of employment and raising the standard of living for Asian workers, organised efforts on an international basis are needed with a view to protecting infant industries ;

The Conference requests the International Labour Organisation to make arrangements with the appropriate international agencies for a survey of the present industrial structure, productivity, and needs of the people in Asian countries, with a view to determining the industrial level of each country and giving necessary technical and other assistance for implementing industrial plans of each country.

42. *Proposed resolution concerning the Japanese industrial level, submitted by Mr. Wu, Employers' delegate, China.*

Whereas before the war Japan was allowed to exploit her manpower resources and the raw materials of the Asian region, which resulted in political and economic aggression prior to the second World War ;

Whereas Japan is now well on the way to industrial rehabilitation, and measures should be immediately devised in order to stop her from re-entering the beaten track of political and economic aggression ; and

Whereas, should Japan be allowed to dump her surplus economic products into the Asian markets, infant industries in this region would never have a chance to develop ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

- (a) to recommend, through the proper channel, to the Far Eastern Commission to see to it that the Japanese industrial level shall not be higher than that which meets the needs of her people ; and

- (b) to recommend, through the proper channel, to the Far Eastern Commission to see to it that immediate steps are taken to dismantle Japanese war industries ; and
- (c) to recommend to the United Nations that in the impending peace treaty with Japan clauses on her industrial level should be inserted.

43. *Proposed resolution on labour standards in Japan, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.*

As is pointed out by the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.

A general improvement in the labour standards of the Asian countries cannot be secured on an international basis unless the standards agreed upon are applicable to Japan.

The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body—

- (a) to communicate through the appropriate channel to the Japanese Government, and to ask it to communicate to the employers' and workers' organisations in Japan, the decisions and documents of the present Conference and to advise the Japanese Government through the appropriate channel to associate itself with the decisions of the Conference ;
- (b) to arrange with the appropriate authorities for a fact-finding mission to visit Japan to collect adequate current information concerning labour conditions, manpower organisation, vocational training, industrial relations and social security arrangements in Japan for inclusion in the reports prepared for the first Asian regional conference, to be held in China ;
- (c) to arrange through the appropriate channel to secure regular annual reports on the application of the international labour Conventions which are binding on Japan by reason of ratification while Japan was a Member of the International Labour Organisation ;
- (d) to explore the possibility of including in the Far Eastern peace settlement certain common minimum standards in regard to labour conditions designed to protect the other Asian countries against Japanese competition ; and
- (e) to consider when and under what conditions Japan could appropriately be readmitted to the International Labour Organisation.

45. *Proposed resolution regarding the placing of I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations before national legislatures, submitted by Mr. Khedgi-kar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that, under Article 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, every Member State undertakes to bring the Conventions and Recommendations before its national legislature or other competent authority within a period of eighteen months from the closing of the session of the Conference at which the Convention or Recommendation is adopted ; and

Considering that the Member States in the Asian region have failed to interpret the provisions of Article 21 in the proper spirit ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to call the attention of the Member States concerned to the desirability of placing, as Government business, on the agenda of their national legislatures, for their consideration, all Conventions and Recommendations within the specified period.

46. Proposed resolution regarding national tripartite conferences, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Whereas the organisation of national tripartite conferences, in which representatives of workers and employers participate on an equal footing with representatives of Governments in the consideration of labour and social problems, has proved most useful in countries in which such conferences have been established ;

Whereas the development of such tripartite collaboration leads to mutual understanding and goodwill and promotes industrial peace and the satisfactory solution of social and labour problems ;

The Conference requests the Governments of the countries represented at the Conference to give consideration to the setting up in their countries, where such organisations do not now exist, of national tripartite conferences and industrial committees consisting of representatives of employers' and workers' organisations and of Governments, to consider and make recommendations in regard to—

- (a) appropriate measures for increasing production and output in industry by securing the best use of the available economic, human and technical resources ;
- (b) appropriate measures for raising the standard of living of the workers ;
- (c) the implementation of decisions adopted by the International and regional Labour Conferences and such of the resolutions adopted by the industrial committees as are communicated to Governments by decision of the Governing Body and the formulation of recommendations on such other questions as may fall within their competence or may be referred to them.

The Conference further requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to make a study of the working of national tripartite organisations in Asian countries and to submit a report for the information and consideration of the next regional conference.

47. Proposed resolution regarding national tripartite labour organisations, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation recommends that each country in the Asian region should institute a national tripartite labour organisation on the lines of the International Labour Organisation. Each national tripartite organisation should consist of representatives of Government, employers and workers in equal numbers. Governments should undertake to nominate non-Government representatives to the national tripartite organisation, chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.

The Conference believes that such a national tripartite organisation will greatly assist in bringing together representatives of Governments, employers and workpeople for exchange of views and appreciation of each other's point of view on various vital questions affecting both industrial and agricultural labour.

In order that the national tripartite organisation may function efficiently and effectively, the Conference recommends that each Government should establish an independent office, with a director of sufficiently high status and standing. This office should have adequate staff and necessary equipment.

Each national tripartite organisation should hold a conference every year, lasting for two weeks. This conference should consider, among other items, the report to be prepared by the director of the organisation, as is the practice with the International Labour Conference.

Each national tripartite organisation should have a governing body, consisting of persons representing Government, employers and workers in equal numbers, who should be elected respectively by the Government, employers' and workers' representatives attending the General Conference at regular intervals.

The office of the national tripartite organisation should be under the control of the governing body, which should generally meet four times a year.

After the establishment of the national tripartite organisation, industrial committees on the lines of the I.L.O. committees should also be formed for dealing with particular questions of all important industries.

The Conference further recommends that in those countries in which provincial Governments have also power to enact labour legislation and/or to enforce central labour legislation, a tripartite organisation for each province on the lines indicated above should also be formed.

The Governments concerned should make it a point to consult their respective tripartite organisations in all matters of labour policy, including legislation and its enforcement.

The Conference further recommends that the Governments concerned should seek active collaboration from the I.L.O. in the work of the national tripartite organisations by securing expert advice on important matters and by such other means as may be found to be feasible and appropriate. Each Government should undertake to send to the I.L.O. full records of the proceedings of the national tripartite conferences and its meetings.

50. *Proposed resolution concerning possibilities of employment in under-populated countries, submitted by the Laos Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates.*

Whereas in some countries of Asia overpopulation is a cause of poverty ;

Whereas poverty is also due, in other countries of Asia, to too low a population figure, which does not allow the population to engage in industrial production, the exploitation of natural resources or the formation of capital ; and

Whereas it might still be necessary, even if the population figure could be progressively increased by a long-term health policy, to ensure the early and rapid equipment of underpopulated countries and to consider the employment in these countries of populations which suffer from unemployment in their own countries ;

The Conference invites the Governing Body :

- (a) to set up within the framework of the International Labour Organisation an Asian regional office under the direction of an Asian regional committee, the said office to be entrusted in particular with the study of questions of employment and with taking all possible steps to organise constant relations between the employment services of the various countries ;
- (b) to recommend the countries concerned to consider the desirability of intergovernmental arrangements with a view to the realisation of full employment in the Asian region.

51. *Proposed resolution concerning increased production, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas most Asian countries are suffering from acute shortages of production which not only reduce employment opportunities, but result in a serious deterioration in the standards of living of the people ;

Whereas effective steps should be taken immediately to create conditions favourable to the promotion and maintenance of production at the highest possible level ;

This Conference recommends the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to call the attention of the Governments of the Asian States represented at this Conference to the following :

- (a) the urgent necessity for increasing production by every possible means ;
- (b) the need for increasing productive efficiency to the maximum extent ;
- (c) the need for avoiding unfair labour practices, such as victimisation, unmerited dismissals, favouritism, stay-in strikes and gangsterism, or go-slow and other similar policies which either retard productive effort or create conditions of insecurity and dissatisfaction, thus affecting production ;
- (d) the need for establishing, in consultation with organisations of employers and workers, suitable consultative negotiating or statutory bodies for the speedy and equitable resolution of differences between labour and management ; and
- (e) the need for taking all measures necessary for effectively discouraging the stoppage or slowing down of production for any reason whatsoever.

52. *Proposed resolution regarding representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers, submitted by Mr. Nanda, Government delegate, India.*

Considering that the great majority of workers in Asian countries are agriculturists and that, in addition, there are large numbers of cottage industry workers, whose numbers are likely to increase in future as the economic development proceeds,

This Regional Conference is of the view that it will be concerned more and more with problems affecting agricultural and rural workers.

The Conference considers that to enable it to discharge this responsibility adequately, it should have an adequate representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers, employed as well as self-employed.

The Conference therefore invites the Governing Body to consider, in consultation with the Governments of the countries represented at this Conference; employers' and workers' organisations, how best this representation should be secured.

(2) First report of the Selection Committee.

The first report of the Selection Committee was submitted orally to the Conference at its Third Sitting (see Second Part, p. 17).

(3) Second report of the Selection Committee.

The second report of the Selection Committee was submitted orally to the Conference at its Fifth Sitting (see Second Part, p. 38). The following schedule to the report was circulated separately.

SCHEDULE

Proposed resolution assigned to the Committee on item I of the agenda.¹

Proposed resolution (No. 1) on social security, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolutions assigned to the Committee on item II of the agenda.²

Proposed resolution (No. 2) regarding co-operation, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 3) regarding the constitution of an industrial committee for plantation labour problems, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 4) regarding industrial home and cottage industry workers, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 5) regarding employment services, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 6) regarding recruitment, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 7) regarding vocational and technical training, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 8) regarding the training of Asian workers in advanced industrial countries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 9) regarding the employment of women, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 10) regarding wage policy, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 11) regarding conditions of work, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 12) regarding family budget enquiries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 13) regarding housing, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

¹ See below, *Appendix III (2)*, p. 207, for the text of this resolution.

² See below, *Appendix IV (2)*, p. 225, for the text of these resolutions.

Proposed resolution (No. 14) regarding rural populations submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 15) regarding workers in plantations, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 16) regarding forced labour, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 17) regarding aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 18) regarding housing, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 19) on co-operation, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 20) on labour welfare standards, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 21) concerning the protection of children and young workers, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 22) concerning the employment of women and the protection of maternity, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.

Proposed resolutions assigned to the Committee on item III of the agenda.¹

Proposed resolution (No. 23) regarding statistics, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 24) regarding a periodical review of the action taken, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 25) regarding the appointment of a committee for the formulation of an immediate programme, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 26) concerning the organisation of labour inspection, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 27) on factory inspection, submitted by the Ceylon Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 28) regarding hours of work, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolutions assigned to the Selection Committee.²

Proposed resolution (No. 29) concerning the economic policies necessary for the attainment in Asia of the social objectives of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 30) regarding international aid for the development of Asian countries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 31) concerning inflation, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 32) to secure fair terms of exchange for exports from undeveloped countries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

¹ See below, *Appendix V (2)*, p. 250, for the text of these resolutions.

² See above, under (1), p. 180, for the text of these resolutions, except Nos. 39 and 44, the text of which is given below in *Appendix IV (2)*, p. 242.

Proposed resolution (No. 33) regarding the constitution of an Asian labour committee, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 34) regarding the steps to be taken to secure fuller participation of Asian countries in the activities and deliberations of the International Labour Organisation and Conference, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 35) regarding the cost of travelling expenses to meetings of the International Labour Organisation submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 36) regarding real wages after the war, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 37) regarding seafarers, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 38) regarding the establishment of a permanent Asian regional committee, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 39) regarding the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.¹

Proposed resolution (No. 40) regarding the organisation of an I.L.O. fact-finding mission, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 41) on the Asian industrial level, submitted by Mr. Wu, Employers' delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 42) concerning the Japanese industrial level, submitted by Mr. Wu, Employers' delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 43) on labour standards in Japan, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.

Proposed resolution (No. 44) regarding land tenure and land relationship, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.¹

Proposed resolution (No. 45) regarding the placing of I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations before national legislatures, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

Proposed resolution (No. 46) regarding national tripartite conferences, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Proposed resolution (No. 47) regarding national tripartite labour organisations, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

(4) Third report of the Selection Committee.²

The Selection Committee held its 4th sitting on 31 October, its 5th sitting on 3 November and its 6th and 7th sittings on 4 November 1947.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS

1. *Assignment of proposed resolutions to committees of the Conference.*

Proposed resolutions assigned to the Committee on item II of the agenda.³
The Committee decided to assign the proposed resolution (No. 48) concerning the role of small industries, domestic industries and handicraft

¹ Subsequently transmitted to the Committee on item II of the agenda.

² See *Second Part : Ninth Sitting*, p. 82.

³ See below, *Appendix IV (2)*, pp. 242 and 243, for the text of these resolutions.

industries in the industrialisation of the countries of Asia, submitted by H.R.H. the Princess Yukanthor, Government delegate, Cambodia, to the Committee on item II of the agenda.

It also decided to refer to that Committee the proposed resolution (No. 39) regarding the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labour Organisation, and the proposed resolution (No. 44) regarding land tenure and land relationship.¹

*Proposed resolution assigned to the Committee on item III of the agenda.*² The Committee decided to assign the proposed resolution (No. 49) on labour policy in general, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India, to the Committee on item III of the agenda.

*Proposed resolutions assigned to the Selection Committee.*³ The Committee decided that it would itself consider the following proposed resolutions:

- (a) proposed resolution (No. 50)⁴ concerning possibilities of employment in underpopulated territories, submitted by the Laos Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates;
- (b) proposed resolution (No. 51) concerning increased production, submitted by the Indian Government delegates; and
- (c) proposed resolution (No. 52) regarding representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers, submitted by Mr. Nanda, Government delegate, India.

2. *Intensification of the Asian work of the International Labour Organisation.*

The Committee unanimously adopted the proposed resolution concerning the intensification of the Asian work of the International Labour Organisation⁴, which it transmits to the Conference for approval.

The Committee attaches great importance to the provision of paragraph (h) of Part I concerning the issue of certain publications in Asian languages and welcomes the assurance given on behalf of the Director-General of the International Labour Office that the publication in such languages of the decisions of the present Conference will be put in hand immediately and that further publication in Asian languages will follow.

The Indian Employers' member desired to ensure that the representatives of non-metropolitan territories taking part in the meetings of the Organisation would as far as practicable be nationals of the territories in question. An exchange of views took place, in the course of which, while the desirability of such a course was generally agreed upon, attention was drawn to the difficulty in existing circumstances of making any formal provision in this respect. It was therefore decided that this report should emphasise the consensus of opinion in the Committee that whenever circumstances made it possible, representatives of non-metropolitan territories at meetings of the Organisation should be nationals of such territories.

¹ Cf. Schedule to the second report of the Selection Committee, p. 197.

² See below, *Appendix V (2)*, p. 254, for the text of this resolution.

³ See above, under (2), pp. 193-195, for the text of these resolutions.

⁴ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 33-35, 38, 40 and 50 (see above, pp. 187, 188, 189, 193); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (1)*, p. 262.

The Indian Employers' member pressed for the acceptance of the proposed resolution No. 35 concerning the cost of travelling expenses to meetings of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Government of India, in the form in which it had been submitted, instead of Part IV. The view was expressed that while there could be no disagreement as to the desirability of facilitating by all practicable means the attendance of complete delegations from distant countries at meetings of the International Labour Organisation, the particular proposal put forward in the proposed resolution in question was inopportune in the present circumstances of general financial stringency. It was also stated that the whole question might be considered at an opportune time by the Governing Body in all its aspects, not excluding the proposal put forward by the Government of India in the original-proposed resolution. Accordingly, it was decided to leave the proposed resolution in its present form, so that the Governing Body might explore every means of affording relief to the smaller and more distant countries,

3. *Labour standards in Japan.*

The Committee unanimously adopted the proposed resolution concerning labour standards in Japan¹, which it transmits to the Conference for approval.

An exchange of views took place on the appropriateness at this stage of a recommendation being made by this Conference to "explore the possibility of including in the Far Eastern peace settlement certain common minimum standards in regard to labour conditions designed to protect the other Asian countries against Japanese competition", as proposed in the resolution on labour standards in Japan submitted by the Chinese Workers' delegate (No. 43). It was finally agreed not to include in the resolution on this subject submitted to this Conference a paragraph on this question. The Chinese Government member reserved the right of his Government to raise this question at a subsequent meeting under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation or elsewhere.

4. *Tripartite organisation and other appropriate arrangements.*

The Committee unanimously adopted the proposed resolution concerning tripartite organisation and other appropriate arrangements², which it transmits to the Conference for approval.

5. *Increased production.*

The Committee unanimously adopted the proposed resolution concerning increased production³, which it transmits to the Conference for approval.

¹ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolution No. 43 (see above, p. 191); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (2)*, p. 264.

² The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 46 and 47 (see above, p. 192); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (3)*, p. 265.

³ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolution No. 51 (see above, p. 194); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (4)*, p. 266.

6. Seafarers.

The Committee unanimously adopted the proposed resolution concerning seafarers¹, which it transmits to the Conference for approval.

(5) Fourth report of the Selection Committee. ²

The Selection Committee held its 8th sitting on 5 November and its 9th sitting on 6 November 1947.

I. PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS

The Committee unanimously adopted the following four proposed resolutions, which it transmits to the Conference for approval.

1. *Proposed resolution concerning the economic policies necessary for the attainment in Asia of the social objectives of the International Labour Organisation.*³
2. *Proposed resolution concerning industrial development in Japan.*⁴
3. *Proposed resolution concerning representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers.*⁵
4. *Proposed resolution concerning the placing of Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation before the national legislatures.*⁶

II. CREDENTIALS

The Committee adopted unanimously the following two reports on credentials, which it transmits to the Conference for approval.

Report I.

I. The Committee noted that objections have been received to the credentials of the Workers' delegates of India, Ceylon and the French Establishments in India.

¹ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolution No. 37 (see above, p. 188) ; for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (5)*, p. 266.

² See *Second Part : Thirteenth Sitting*, p. 144.

³ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 29-32 and 36 (see above, pp. 180-186, 188) ; for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (6)*, p. 267.

⁴ The text of this proposed resolution was based on proposed resolutions Nos. 41 and 42 (see above, p. 190) ; for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (7)*, p. 272.

⁵ The text of this proposed resolution was based on proposed resolution No. 52 (see above, p. 194) ; for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (8)*, p. 272.

⁶ The text of this proposed resolution was based on proposed resolution No. 45 (see above, p. 191) ; for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (9)*, p. 272.

2. Before proceeding to examine these objections, the Committee considered whether it had powers to deal with the merits of these objections at the present Conference. The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference has not been given by the Governing Body any power to reject the credentials of delegates and neither the terms of the invitation to Governments nor the Standing Orders of the Conference envisage such action. While some members felt that there was grave doubt whether certain of the Workers' delegates whose credentials have been contested had been properly nominated, the Committee as a whole felt that in these circumstances no practical purpose would be achieved by its undertaking a detailed examination of the objections which have been submitted.

3. The Committee is unanimous in attaching the highest importance to the principle that Employers' and Workers' delegates to regional conferences should be nominated in accordance with the rules and principles governing the appointment of delegates to the International Labour Conference. It suggests that when further regional conferences are convened, the special attention of Governments should be drawn to the importance of this matter and that provision should be made for the appointment at such conferences of credentials committees equipped to make a thorough examination of any objections to credentials which may be received. It is understood that the Governing Body has entrusted its Standing Orders Committee with the preparation for submission to the International Labour Conference of the rules governing the procedure of regional conferences provided for in the 1946 amendments to the Constitution of the Organisation which are expected to come into force in the near future. The Committee suggests that it would be appropriate to include in these rules detailed provisions defining the procedure to be followed at future regional conferences for the consideration of objections to credentials.

Report II.

The Committee also considered the question whether an invitation to attend the present Conference had been extended to the Indonesian Republic.

The Government of the Indonesian Republic has not been generally recognised as such by the Members of the International Labour Organisation. The International Labour Conference at its Philadelphia Session approved unanimously a report by its Credentials Committee laying down the principle that Governments which have not been generally recognised cannot enjoy any official status in relation to the Organisation.

In accordance with the established rules of international law and the recognised usage of States the Governing Body decided that the metropolitan Powers responsible for the international relations of territories in the Asian region should be asked to indicate the manner in which these territories should be represented at the present Conference. The Netherlands Government, in replying to the invitation to attend the Conference addressed to it by the Director-General on behalf of the Governing Body, indicated that it would be glad to attend the Conference unless in the interval a new relationship should have been established between the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies, in which case the invitation

would be transmitted for appropriate action to the authorities competent under the new arrangements.

An agreement between the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Indonesian Republic, the so-called Cheribon or Linggadjati Agreement, envisaging the constitution of a sovereign United States of Indonesia, of which the Republic of Indonesia would be one of the constituent States, and which would be associated with the Netherlands in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union, was negotiated earlier this year and signed at Batavia on 25 March. It provided for an application for separate membership of the United States of Indonesia in the United Nations, which would be supported by the Netherlands. Although this agreement as such is no longer in force, the Netherlands Government has repeatedly stated that its aims as regards the political future of Indonesia, *viz.*, the establishment of a free federal State and the transfer of power at the earliest opportunity from the Kingdom of the Netherlands to a federal Government of the United States of Indonesia, remain unchanged. Negotiations for a new agreement between the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic are being resumed with the help of a three-power Commission, formed under the auspices of the Security Council of the United Nations.

In these circumstances, the administrative and legislative steps to bring into being both the United States of Indonesia and the Netherlands-Indonesian Union envisaged by the Linggadjati Agreement have not yet been taken. Because of this the Netherlands Government appointed the delegation which is attending the present Conference in pursuance of the invitation unanimously extended by the Governing Body.

The Committee has also noted that the delegation which has been appointed is entirely made up of members domiciled in Indonesia, most of them Indonesians. The Employers' and Workers' representatives and their advisers have been nominated in agreement with the industrial organisations in the areas at present controlled by the Netherlands Indies Government. It is noted that two of the advisers of the Employers' representative come from areas where employers on a small and medium scale have not yet been organised. In view of this fact they were appointed after due consultation with the authorities in the areas concerned.

The Workers' representative and his advisers have been nominated in agreement with the miners', railway workers' and oil workers' unions and the General Chinese Trades Union Congress, which together comprise a large majority of the organised workers in the areas controlled by the Netherlands Indies Government and which were afforded the right of free selection in appointing their representatives.

In these circumstances the present Conference has no jurisdiction whatsoever to pursue the matter further. The Committee has however heard with great satisfaction a statement volunteered for its information by the representative of the Netherlands Government, indicating that his Government shares the hope which has been expressed that an early settlement of the present situation will prepare the way for a comprehensive and fully representative participation of the whole of Indonesia in future regional conferences.

Proposed Resolutions Submitted to the Conference by the Selection Committee

1. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE ASIAN WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION
2. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING LABOUR STANDARDS IN JAPAN
3. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING TRIPARTITE ORGANISATION AND OTHER APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS
4. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING INCREASED PRODUCTION
5. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING SEAFARERS

These resolutions were adopted by the Conference at its Ninth Sitting, on 5 November 1947, without amendment. For the text of the resolutions, see Appendix VII (1)-(5), pp. 262-266.

6. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC POLICIES NECESSARY FOR THE ATTAINMENT IN ASIA OF THE SOCIAL OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION
7. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN
8. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING REPRESENTATION OF AGRICULTURAL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRY WORKERS
9. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PLACING OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION BEFORE THE NATIONAL LEGISLATURES

These resolutions were adopted by the Conference at its Thirteenth Sitting, on 7 November 1947, without amendment. For the text of the resolutions, see Appendix VII (6)-(9) pp. 267-273.

APPENDIX III

First item on the agenda: Problems of social security

(1) Report prepared by the International Labour Office.¹

The following information relating to conditions in India, Indo-China, and the Philippines was received too late for inclusion in the report prepared by the International Labour Office on item I on the agenda.

INDIA

Works provident funds.

A statement made by the Railway Department (Railway Board) of the Government of India observes that the figure of 28 per cent. (see p. 38) for the proportion of State railway workers who belong to the State Railway Provident Fund seems too low. The statement continues:

“ According to the Royal Commission on Labour in India, there were in all 31 per cent. of the railway servants on Indian Government railways who contributed to the State Railway Provident Fund. From the figures furnished by railway administrations some years ago, it was found that on 31 March 1939, 40 per cent. of the railway staff employed on Indian Government railways actually contributed to the Provident Fund. Even though the over-all percentage of staff on the Indian Government railways who contributed to the State Railway Provident Fund was 40 per cent. on certain railways, as for instance on the South Indian Railway, 80 per cent. of the staff actually contributed to the Provident Fund. On the Bengal-Nagpur Railway 59 per cent. of the staff contributed to the Provident Fund. ”

INDO-CHINA

A French Decree of 24 July 1947 gives effect to a proposal to apply the principles of the metropolitan Labour Code uniformly to all groups of workers in Indo-China, and thus abolishes racial discrimination in social legislation. In addition, it specifically provides that the regulations to be adopted for this purpose shall include certain reforms with regard to social security.

The chapter on social security deals with the introduction of maternity benefits, family allowances, and workers' pensions on an insurance

¹ Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, New Delhi, 1947, Report I: *Problems of Social Security* (New Delhi, I.L.O., 1947).

basis, and provides for the establishment of a Social Security Fund to administer the scheme. Any woman working under a regular contract of employment will be entitled during her period of maternity leave to medical care and the payment of an allowance equal to half her wages but in no case less than the local minimum wage. Family allowances are to be introduced for all categories of workers, and will be payable also to unmarried mothers working under a contract of employment. The details of the workers' pensions scheme will be determined by the Social Security Fund. Pending the establishment of the Fund, employers must join the provisional equalisation fund or funds set up, under the supervision of the Labour Inspectorate, to administer the new benefits. These funds will be financed by employers' contributions equal to 10 per cent. of their total wage bill.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Office has received from the Department of Labour of the Philippines a "Memorandum on Philippine Conditions affecting Labour and Labour and Social Standards", from which the following particulars, supplementing the information contained in Report I, are drawn.

Workmen's compensation.

Under the Workmen's Compensation Act which came into effect on 10 June 1928, the rate of benefit is fixed at 50 per cent. of the difference between the worker's weekly wage before and after the accident if the incapacity is partial but temporary, and at 50 per cent. of the weekly wage, payable for a specified number of weeks which varies with the nature of the injury, if the incapacity is partial but permanent.

In cases of disputed claims, the Bureau of Labour, through its attorneys, brings the case to court with a view to having the employer pay, by judicial decision, the compensation due under the provisions of the law.

The Government is at present considering the amendment of the Act with a view to widening its scope and increasing the benefits provided.

Maternity benefits.

Section 13 of Act No. 3071 of 1923, which requires an employer to grant leave with pay to women employees before and after childbirth, has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the Philippines and is not now enforced. The position at present, therefore, is that the only law which grants maternity benefits to women workers is Commonwealth Act No. 647, which applies to Government employees alone. Under this Act married women in the permanent employ of the Government are entitled to maternity leave on full pay in the case of those who have at least two years' continuous service to their credit, and on half pay in the case of others. Temporary employees are entitled to maternity leave without pay. The Department of Labour is, however, reported to be studying the question of reviving the general law granting maternity benefits to all women workers.

Pension insurance.

There is no law in the Philippines requiring employers to pay retirement allowances to their employees or workers on account of incapacity or old age. Permanent employees of the Government, however, are covered by a Government insurance scheme, under which the Government pays one half of the contribution and the employee, the other half.

Income security.

A law is at present pending before Congress under which all employees and workers, and also unemployed persons, may be insured, the contributions to be paid by the employers concerned in respect of workers in industry, by the insured themselves in the case of the unemployed, and by the landlords and tenants, in equal shares, in the case of tenant farmers.

Medical care services.

In February 1947, there were 57 general hospitals (including 7 national hospitals and 48 provincial hospitals) with 5,885 beds. In addition, there were 1,131 public dispensaries, 4 hospitals and clinics for venereal diseases, 4 skin clinics, 11 leprosaria, 5 tuberculosis hospitals and clinics, and 383 puericulture centres under the Division of Child and Maternal Health for the care and welfare of mothers, expectant mothers, babies and pre-school children. For the operation of its medical and health services the Government employed through its Bureau of Public Health alone, 779 doctors, 1,160 nurses, 7 dentists, and 15 pharmacists. This implies an average of one Government doctor to every 20,000 of the rural population, and one Government nurse to every 14,000.

Government health services.

The Department of Health and Public Welfare has executive supervision over the Bureau of Health, the Bureau of Quarantine Service, the Bureau of Public Welfare, and the Health Department of chartered cities, and is generally in charge of both protective and preventive measures in the sphere of public health. The medical care and assistance provided by the Government for the general population are administered mainly by health centres, public dispensaries, puericulture centres, charity clinics, hospitals, and leprosaria. In addition to the general and special hospitals, a number of puericulture centres, operating all over the country, provide maternity care. Over 200 municipal maternity and charity clinics, set up by virtue of Commonwealth Act No. 70 in municipalities with a population of less than 8,000 provide medical relief in small communities where no other health organisation exists at present. There are 45 health centres in Manila and 7 in Quezon City for general dispensary as well as public health and sanitation work. Finally, there are a few community health-social centres which engage in general welfare work, tuberculosis prevention and control, and general dispensing of medical care. It is estimated that by means of all these centres about 60 per cent. of the municipalities and municipal districts of the Philippines are covered by the medical care services.

The Bureau of Health is also engaged in carrying out a Government programme for the education of mothers in regard to hygiene and nutrition. The Government further administers institutions for the care of orphans, incorrigible, feeble-minded, or abandoned and neglected children, and non-leprous children of leprous parents.

Employers' liability.

Under Act No. 3961, as amended, employers are required to provide free emergency medical care to their workers. Undertakings employing 30-200 workers must have a first-aid post, those employing 200-400 must in addition have a permanent medical officer, and those with over 400 must operate an infirmary or emergency hospital unless there is a public hospital situated within 2 kilometres of the undertaking.

(2) Text of resolution submitted in accordance with Article 10 of the Standing Orders of the Conference and assigned to the Committee on Social Security for consideration.¹

I. Proposed resolution on social security, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

PART I

Social security services are an essential condition of building up a genuine democratic society.

In order that the introduction of social security services may be beneficial and effective, substantial progress should first be made towards free and compulsory elementary education, the establishment of a living wage, and the provision of decent housing and of a healthy environment; Governments should therefore accord the highest priority to these fundamental measures.

As soon as these fundamental measures have produced substantial results, social security schemes, that is to say, schemes to afford income security and medical care for workers, both employed and self-employed, and their dependants should be introduced, without prejudice to the establishment meanwhile of schemes for the benefit of specified sections of the working population.

Proposals for social security schemes are already in various stages of consideration in some of the Asian countries and should be put into operation at an early date.

Such schemes should be based on the general principles of the Income Security and Medical Care Recommendations, 1944, and should be framed in the light of the suggestions, set forth in the following paragraphs, for the application of these principles under the special conditions prevailing in the Asian countries.

I. Income Security

A. Social insurance planning.

1. Income security should be afforded by means of social insurance, financed by contributions from workers and management and by such subsidies as may be possible from public funds.

2. In the formulation of social insurance policy, consideration should be given to the following principles:

(a) An integral and long-term plan of social insurance, to be fulfilled by stages, should be framed from the outset.

¹ Cf. *Appendix II (3)*, second report of the Selection Committee, p. 195.

- (b) As a first stage, social insurance schemes in respect of employment injury, maternity and sickness should be applied in certain geographical areas or to well-defined categories of workers, as may be found possible.
- (c) In fixing the level of benefits the aim should be to afford at least a minimum of subsistence.
- (d) The provisions governing contribution and benefit rates and benefit rights should be framed in as simple a form as possible.
- (e) Provision should be made for merging the rates of employment injury benefits with those of the corresponding benefits of sickness insurance.
- (f) Wherever possible, contributions to, and the administration of, insurance schemes providing for sickness, maternity and employment injury benefits, which have as a common factor the provision of medical care, should be unified.

B. Employment injury benefits.

3. Consideration should be given to extending the scope of employment injury benefit legislation so as to cover as many categories of workers not yet covered (including categories of agricultural workers) as it may be administratively feasible to do from time to time.

4. In order that the laws and regulations concerning employment injury benefits may conform as closely as conditions allow to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Code, consideration should be given, with due regard to the principles stated in paragraph 2 of this resolution, to the following principles :

- (a) Wherever feasible, the payment of benefits should be secured by means of a system of insurance.
- (b) The benefits should normally take the form of periodical payments ; a lump sum should only be paid if the competent authority is satisfied it will be properly utilised.
- (c) Medical care should be provided on an adequate scale.
- (d) Specialised institutions should be established for the rehabilitation of injured workers.

C. Maternity benefits.

5. Consideration should be given to extending the scope of maternity benefit legislation so as to cover as many categories of women workers as it may be found administratively feasible to do from time to time.

6. In order that the laws and regulations concerning maternity benefits may conform as closely as conditions allow to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Code, consideration should be given, with due regard to the principles stated in paragraph 2 of this resolution, to the following principles :

- (a) Maternity benefits should be granted during maternity leave for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement.

- (b) Wherever possible, the payment of benefits should be secured by means of a system of insurance.
- (c) Free medical care should be provided.

D. Provision for the aged and for dependent survivors.

7. Having regard to the fact that in most Asian countries millions of people who are technically self-employed are working and living under conditions more or less similar to those of employed persons, consideration should be given to the provision of old-age and survivors' benefits for all who stand in need of such benefits, and not merely for employed persons and their survivors.

8. Such benefits should ultimately be provided in the form of old-age and survivors' pensions by means of social insurance or social assistance schemes.

9. Since the Governments of Asian countries may be unable for some time to come to afford the substantial subsidies required to finance such pension schemes, by reason of the large outlay they have to make for social services to which a higher priority must be accorded, consideration should be given to the following measures as first steps towards making adequate provision against the risks of old age and death :

- (a) the institution of compulsory provident funds for as many categories of workers as possible ;
- (b) the extension of the scope of existing State-managed insurance schemes (such as the Postal Insurance Scheme administered by the Government of India), or the introduction of such schemes for the benefit of persons of small means, since premium rates under State-managed schemes can be kept at a minimum.

E. Crop and cattle insurance.

10. With a view to affording a larger measure of income security to cultivators, consideration should be given to the possibility of organising crop and cattle insurance schemes, either for the country as a whole or for those parts in which it may be possible to take immediate action.

II. Medical Care

11. Having regard to the predominantly rural character of Asian countries and their village economy, the absence in many areas or communities of a money economy, the low standard of living of the population in general, the general need for an extension of medical care facilities, and the prevalence of preventable disease, medical care should preferably be provided, not by means of social insurance or social assistance services, but rather by a public medical care service for the whole population without contribution conditions or the imposition of a means test.

12. In the organisation of medical care services, consideration should be given to the following principles :

- (a) The medical care, general health and sanitation services should be integrated in a single service or be closely associated, with a view to rendering medical care more effective by strengthening and extending preventive measures and environmental hygiene.

- (b) Where provision is made for special medical care facilities for wage earners by means of social insurance contributions, such facilities should be provided through the health authorities administering the public medical care service for the whole population.

PART II

The Conference invites the Governing Body :

- (a) to request the Office to make detailed studies of the social insurance schemes which have already been implemented or may be under consideration by the Asian countries, such studies to show the extent of application, the scale of benefits, the conditions for the grant of benefits, the administrative organisation, the method of financing, and the total cost of such schemes ;
- (b) to convene at an appropriate time a meeting of social security experts from the Asian countries to consider the progress being achieved and the special problems being encountered, and the measures which might be taken for the solution of such problems ;
- (c) to arrange with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations for effective international consideration of the problem of crop and cattle insurance in Asian countries ;
- (d) to instruct the Office to submit to the next Asian regional conference a survey of the action taken on the basis of this resolution.

(3) Report of the Committee on Social Security. ¹

The Committee on Social Security, as set up by the Conference, consisted of 35 members : 15 Government, 10 Employers' and 10 Workers' members.

The Officers appointed by the Committee were as follows :

Chairman : Dr. Fang, Government Member, China.

Vice-Chairmen : Sir Shri Ram, Employers' member, India, and Mr. Ramamurti, Workers' member, India.

Reporter : Mr. Mujtaba, Government member, Pakistan.

The Committee appointed a drafting subcommittee, which comprised on linguistic grounds two Employers' and two Workers' members, its membership being as follows :

Government member : Mr. K. G. Menon, India.

Employers' members : Mr. Janssens, France, and Mr. Yap, Singapore.

Workers' members : Mr. Ramamurti, India, and Mr. Jouan, France.

Having regard to the composition of the Committee, each Government member was entitled to cast two votes, and each Employers' or Workers' member to cast three votes.

The Committee held seven sittings.

¹ See *Second Part : Tenth and Eleventh Sitzings*, pp. 96, 111 and 116.

The Conference referred to the Committee as the basis of its discussion a report entitled "Problems of Social Security", being Report I prepared by the Office for the Conference, and the proposed resolution (No. 1) on social security submitted by the Government delegates, India, which is reproduced above, under (2).

In order to ensure competent consideration of the medical care provisions of the proposed resolution, the Committee set up a Subcommittee on Medical Care, whose report is appended to the present report.¹

Before proceeding to examine the remainder of the proposed resolution, the Committee had a short general discussion, in which the importance of attending to the needs of the agricultural population was emphasised. The Committee agreed to accept, for the purpose of its work, the definition of social security offered in the Office Report: "freedom from want as assured by the benefits in cash and in kind of social insurance or social assistance schemes covering the principal risks which deprive workers and their dependants of their means of subsistence".

PROPOSED RESOLUTION

Preamble

Before the proposed resolution was discussed, its authors submitted a fresh text of the preamble, the purpose of which was to make clear that the introduction of social insurance might well proceed *pari passu* with progress in certain other fields of social policy, despite the fundamental importance of these latter.

Both the Employers' and the Workers' members submitted amendments to the preamble, as corrected.

A Workers' amendment was adopted without opposition to replace the first paragraph of the preamble by the following :

In view of the terrible poverty, the wide prevalence of disease and epidemics, the high incidence of infant and maternal mortality, the low expectation of life, and the misery and destitution caused by unemployment and underemployment among the working peoples of the Asian countries, the establishment of social security services, which are an essential condition to build up a genuine democratic society, has become an urgent task.

A second amendment proposed by the Workers' members, in the place of the second and third paragraphs of the preamble, was adopted, with the insertion of a reference, proposed by the Employers' members, to the necessity of improving food supply. As adopted, this amendment reads as follows :

In order that all-round progress may be made to raise the general living standards of the people, and in order that the burden of incidence of social security schemes may be lightened, it is necessary that social security schemes should be augmented by ancillary measures providing for an adequate growth and supply of essential foodstuffs sufficient to meet the accepted standards of subsistence and nutrition, a living wage, decent housing and a healthy environment and free and compulsory education. The Conference urges on the Governments of the Asian countries to take vigorously in hand schemes for the achievement of these objectives.

¹ See below, p. 215.

A third amendment proposed by the Workers' members was to replace the fourth and fifth paragraphs of the preamble by a text which recommended that social security schemes covering all the main risks should be established within ten years, and that these schemes should conform with the general principles of the Income Security and Medical Care Recommendations, 1944. A subamendment was moved by the Employers' members, restating the substance of the amendment in less categorical terms, and was adopted by 42 votes to 36. It reads as follows :

This Conference, while noting the proposals for social security schemes in various stages of consideration in some of the Asian countries, is of the opinion that the progress of such schemes should be accelerated. The Conference recommends to the various Governments represented in this Conference that these and other schemes which may be organised should seek to cover risks such as sickness, maternity, invalidity, death of breadwinner, and employment injury and, in the case of industrial workers, old age and unemployment under certain conditions. The Conference holds that implementation of such schemes will be facilitated if the workers and employers co-operate wholeheartedly to increase and intensify production. Such schemes shall be framed in the light of the suggestions set forth in the following paragraphs—

I. Income Security

A. Social insurance planning.

Paragraph 1. The Workers' members moved two amendments to this paragraph. The first would have inserted a recommendation that income security should be afforded to "all labour that is at present regulated or is capable of being regulated with regard to wages, working conditions, tenure of employment, etc.", and enumerated a wide range of private and public employments. This text was adopted after discussion, in an abbreviated form.

Their second amendment sought to lay down definite proportions for the shares of the cost of social insurance to be borne by the three contributory parties. By agreement, however, this amendment was replaced by one proposed by the Employers' members, which simply laid down the principle of tripartite financing.

Paragraph 1 as adopted reads as follows :

In the case of all labour that is regulated, income security should be afforded by means of social insurance, financed by contributions from workers, management and Government.

Paragraph 2. In subparagraph (a), an attempt by the Workers' members to have inserted a recommendation that the plan should be fulfilled within a period of ten years was rejected by 30 votes to 58. This subparagraph was then adopted unchanged.

After an exchange of views among the three groups, subparagraph (b) was amended to read as follows :

- (b) As a first stage, social insurance schemes in respect of employment injury, maternity and sickness should be applied in certain geographical areas or in respect of all regulated workers as may be found possible.

Subparagraphs (c), (d), (e) and (f) were adopted without discussion.

B. Employment injury benefits.

Paragraph 3 was adopted without opposition.

Paragraph 4. Subparagraph (*a*) was the object of amendments, moved by the Workers' members, (i) to delete the words "wherever feasible", (ii) to replace "insurance" by "compulsory State insurance", and (iii) to recommend that the cost be charged to employers and a special levy be imposed on dangerous undertakings. The amendment in a shortened form was adopted by 40 votes to 36. As amended, paragraph 4 (*a*) reads as follows :

- (*a*) The payment of benefits should in general be secured by means of a system of State insurance or other non-profit-making insurance scheme.

Subparagraph (*b*) was adopted without opposition.

Subparagraph (*c*) was adopted with an amendment moved by the Workers' members, as slightly altered after discussion. As amended, it reads :

- (*c*) Medical care should be provided on an adequate scale, which must include in-patient hospital treatment wherever possible.

Subparagraph (*d*) was adopted without opposition.

A new subparagraph (*e*), proposed by the Workers' members, was adopted in a more succinct form. As adopted, it reads as follows :

- (*e*) There should be periodical medical inspections of workers engaged in occupations in which occupational diseases are common.

C. Maternity benefits.

The provisions of the proposed resolution on maternity benefits were discussed in conjunction with the references to this subject which are contained in the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care.

Paragraph 5 was adopted without opposition.

Paragraph 6. The Subcommittee on Medical Care, in paragraph 11 of its report, states that, from a medical point of view, a fair average period of maternity leave, for women of different races and in different occupations, would, under the conditions now prevailing in Asia, be two months, but that there should be provision to extend this by at least another month where the woman's health is unsatisfactory. The medical members on the Subcommittee representing the Government of India and the Workers' members of the committee, on the other hand, recommended a total period of three months' leave. Paragraph 11 of the Subcommittee's report was put to the vote and adopted by 54 votes to nil, the Workers' members abstaining. Accordingly, subparagraph (*a*) of paragraph 6 of the proposed resolution was amended by the addition, at the end, of the words :

subject to the modifications as indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care.

Subparagraph (*b*) was amended, at the instance of the Workers' members, in the same way as subparagraph (*a*) of paragraph 4, which

deals with employment injury insurance. Subparagraph (b) as amended reads as follows :

- (b) The payment of maternity benefits should, as a rule, be secured by a system of compulsory insurance administered by the State or a non-profit-making insurance scheme.

Subparagraph (c) was adopted without opposition.

D. Provision for the aged and for dependent survivors.

Paragraph 7 was adopted without opposition.

Paragraph 8 was adopted without opposition, after the Workers' members had withdrawn a proposal to provide that social assistance for the self-employed should be financed by a social security tax.

Paragraph 9 was the object of an amendment proposed by the Workers' members, definitely recommending the measures provided for in subparagraphs (a) and (b). The amendment was not acceptable to the Employers' members and some of the Government members. On being put to the vote, however, it was adopted by 46 votes to 36. Accordingly, the words "consideration should be given to" were deleted, and the words "should be taken" were inserted after the words "following measures".

The Workers' members moved to amend subparagraph (a) in harmony with paragraph 1 as amended. Their proposal was adopted without opposition in the following form :

- (a) the institution of compulsory provident funds for as many categories of workers as possible, and in particular, for all regulated labour.

In subparagraph (b), the Employers' members moved the deletion of the words "since premium rates under State-managed schemes can be kept at a minimum". The amendment, having been accepted by the Government and Workers' members, was adopted.

E. Crop and cattle insurance.

Paragraph 10. The Employers' members moved to replace the words "consideration should be given to" by the words "Governments should consider". This amendment was adopted without opposition.

The Workers' members desired to insert an introductory passage in this paragraph, recommending "the abolition of landlordism as a first step in the tackling of the problem of social security for the agricultural population". The Chairman ruled this proposal out of order, on the ground that the question of land tenure was being considered by another committee of the Conference.

Paragraph 10, as amended, was then adopted.

II. Medical Care

The report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care was adopted after a discussion on its paragraph 11, to which reference has been made above, and which resulted in the approval of this paragraph by 54 votes to nil.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Subcommittee the following amendments were made in paragraphs 11 and 12 of the proposed resolution.

Paragraph 11. The following passage was added at the end :
subject to the proviso that social insurance schemes or other schemes for medical care for limited sections of the community, such as industrial workers, should, in suitable circumstances, be inaugurated in advance of the schemes of general medical care where these do not at present exist.

Also, the word " most " was inserted before " Asian countries ".

Paragraph 12. In subparagraph (a) the words " in a single service " were deleted.

In subparagraph (b), the words " or supervised by " were inserted after the words " provided through ".

Second Part of Proposed Resolution

The second part of the proposed resolution contains a series of proposals addressed to the Governing Body for action to be taken by the International Labour Office.

There was one amendment to this part, which was moved by the Chinese Government member. The amendment, which was adopted without opposition, adds a new subparagraph (e), as follows :

(e) to instruct the Office to make available experts on problems of social security to advise any of the Asian countries that may request them.

The proposed resolution as a whole was adopted by the Committee and referred to its Drafting Subcommittee. The final text is appended hereto.¹

New Delhi, 4 November 1947.

(Signed) Kazi MUJTABA,
Reporter

ANNEX I

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MEDICAL CARE

The Committee set up a Subcommittee on Medical Care to consider paragraphs 11 and 12 of the proposed resolution on social security and to report back.

The Subcommittee consisted of :

Dr. R. B. MacGregor, C.M.G., M.B., M.R.C.P., Director, Medical Services, Malayan Union, (Chairman) ;

Dr. I. C. Fang, M.D., Chief Medical Officer, Ministry of Health, China ;
Major E. Lloyd Jones, M.D., Deputy Director-General of Health Services, India ;

Sir Shri Ram ;

Dr. A. M. Malik, L.M.F. (Cal.), D.O.S. (Vienna) ; and

Dr. C. J. C. de Silva, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

¹ For the text of the resolution as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII* (10), p. 273.

The Subcommittee is in general agreement with paragraphs 11 and 12 of the resolution, but propose the following minor amendments :

In paragraph 11 at the end insert the following passage :

subject to the proviso that social insurance schemes or other schemes for medical care for limited sections of the community such as industrial workers should in suitable circumstances be inaugurated in advance of the schemes for general medical care where these do not at present exist.

In paragraph 11 before the word "Asian" insert the word "most".

In paragraph 12 (a) delete the words "in a single service".

In paragraph 12 (b) insert the words "or supervised by" after the word "through".

In paragraph 6 (Maternity Benefit) insert at the end of paragraph (a) "subject to the modifications indicated in the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care".

The Subcommittee reviewed the proposals for medical care contained in the Office report on item I of the agenda of the Conference in the light of the discussions of the Committee and the resolution before it. The following observations and recommendations have been unanimously agreed on by the Subcommittee.

Recommendations of the Subcommittee

1. In any scheme for medical care, in any Asian country, the need for the prevention of disease and the improvement of the general standard of health must be considered as of the utmost importance. Much of the existing ill-health is due to poor nutrition and to diseases like malaria, which can be prevented. Any proposals which neglect these factors, and devote an undue share of money, energy and skill to dealing with the treatment of illness alone, are attempting to deal with the problem from the wrong end. Improvements in the environment of the worker, by sanitation, water supplies and, where necessary and practicable, anti-malarial work, are of paramount importance, whether the worker is in a large city or in a remote village.

2. The recent report of the Health Survey and Development Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E., gives a comprehensive account of the medical problems of India. In the foreword to the summary of that report there is a statement of principles which can well be taken as a guide for medical work in all Asian countries. It reads as follows :

(1) No individual should fail to secure adequate medical care because of inability to pay for it.

(2) In view of the complexity of modern medical practice, the health services should provide, when fully developed, all the consultant, laboratory and institutional facilities necessary for proper diagnosis and treatment.

(3) The health programme must, from the beginning, lay special emphasis on preventive work. The creation and maintenance of as healthy an environment as possible in the homes of the people, as well as in all places where they congregate for work, amusement or recreation, are essential. So long as environmental hygiene is neglected, so long as the faulty modes of life of the individual and of the community remain uncorrected, so long as these and other factors weakening man's power of resistance and increasing his susceptibility to disease are allowed to operate unchecked, so long will our towns and villages continue to be factories for the supply of cases to our hospitals and dispensaries.

(4) The need is urgent for providing as much medical relief and preventive health care as possible to the vast rural population of the country. The debt which India owes to the tiller of the soil is immense, and although he pays the heaviest toll when famine and pestilence sweep through the land, the medical attention he receives is of the most meagre description. The time has therefore come to redress the neglect which has hitherto been the lot of the rural areas.

(5) The health services should be placed as close to the people as possible in order to ensure the maximum benefit to the communities to be served. The unit of health administration should therefore be made as small as is compatible with practical considerations.

(6) It is essential to secure the active co-operation of the people in the development of the health programme. The idea must be inculcated that, ultimately, the health of the individual is his own responsibility and, in attempting to do so, the most effective means would seem to be to stimulate his health consciousness by providing health education on the widest possible basis as well as opportunities for his active participation in the local health programme.

3. In considering the means whereby these principles can be put into effect, there must be allowance for wide variations to meet the differences in conditions and facilities of different countries. Generally, it will be necessary for schemes for the improvement of environment, such as water supply and drainage schemes, to be carried out by the Government, municipality or other local authority, at the expense of the taxpayer. But in some countries especially on plantations and mines, much can be and has been done in the way of housing and sanitation by the employer.

4. Schemes for ante-natal care, midwifery services, child welfare and the provision of supplementary food for expectant mothers and young children should be the responsibility of the Government or local authority in many places. But this is a direction in which much can be done by an employer, or by a co-operative scheme organised by the employer and workers. We would emphasise that in our opinion such provision is not less important than medical care, hospital treatment and sick pay.

5. In rural areas, medical treatment, by the agency of permanent or mobile dispensaries, district hospitals and health centres is likely to be practicable only if the cost is met by Government or by the local administration, although those who benefit might be required to pay a small part of the cost, if only to induce them to attach greater value to the service rendered.

It has to be remembered, however, that all such payments open the door to abuse, and once the people have been trained to appreciate them, the services should be free, for all those patients who are living near the subsistence line. These rural treatment centres should be linked with a central hospital for specialised treatment, wherever geographical conditions make this practicable.

6. In some rural areas there are hospitals and other medical services maintained by plantations or industrial undertakings. Where these are proved to be efficient and adequate, arrangements should be made whereby they can serve the needs of the local population, in addition to the employees of the industry or plantation. Appropriate financial arrangements should be made by the local authority. Conversely, where the medical service of a local authority can serve adequately the needs of a plantation or industry, arrangements should be made to facilitate this. In all

such arrangements, and also in the medical services of plantations and industries alone, full importance should be given to environmental hygiene. The local authority should be empowered to make regulations to maintain high standards of treatment and to ensure co-ordination and the prevention of wastage of medical skill.

In all these rural schemes the doctor will have to serve a wide area. He should be assisted by well-trained hospital assistants, dressers or compounders and nurses and midwives wherever they are obtainable.

7. For centres serving large populations, urban and rural, specialised hospitals are essential, and in such places the responsibility for providing and maintaining them must rest on the Government or local authority. Those who benefit from them and who are able should pay a part of the cost, either by direct payment of award charges, or, if the patients are participants in any social insurance scheme, from the funds of that scheme.

A large proportion of patients will not be able to pay, and it may be expected that the expenditure will always greatly exceed the direct revenue. The difference will have to be made up from general or local revenue. In such a hospital scheme for urban areas, maternity hospital provision is of special importance.

8. *Private hospitals for factories and industries.* These are likely to fulfil a useful function for dealing with illness which does not require specialised treatment and diagnosis. They could very well be financed by a contributory or insurance scheme, and could qualify for a Government subsidy if the standard of treatment was found to be satisfactory. The management of such a hospital should have workers as well as employers on the governing board. Such a hospital, though in no way able to provide a complete medical service, could meet the greater part of the need of the workers, if it is well run. But to provide a complete service, it must be intimately linked with a larger specialised hospital. It must make reasonable provision for nursing. Such hospitals should be subject to Government inspection.

9. Where local conditions make the establishment of such factory hospitals practicable or desirable, and where no public facilities exist within easy reach in an adequate or suitable form, the following provision is recommended as the minimum desirable :

- (a) for any factory employing, say, 500 persons, an outdoor dispensary ;
- (b) where the number is approximately 10,000, either in one factory or in a group of adjacent factories, there should be in addition a hospital providing indoor and outdoor treatment, and maternity facilities including ante-natal and post-natal care, and child welfare ;
- (c) in all industrial undertakings there should be provision for periodical compulsory medical examination of workers and for personal preventive measures against malaria, smallpox, cholera, typhoid, etc.

10. *Private medical practice.* At the present time this has an important place in the urban areas, but its usefulness in a scheme for the medical care of an industrial population is very restricted. Under any social insurance or contributory medical care scheme, the services of a "panel doctor", unless they are fully backed by a hospital, laboratory and public health service, are likely to give a minimal value for the expenditure involved.

11. *Maternity benefit.* This is a question which has been specially referred to this Committee. The duration of maternity leave with pay which has been recommended, in proposals submitted to the Social Security Committee, is six weeks before and six weeks after confinement. We would point out that there should be, and in the nature of things there will be, considerable variation in the length of time before and after confinement. Variation must be allowed for also in dealing with women of different races and customs, and according to the type of work they have to do. In some places, a total of three months' abstinence from work is often longer than is strictly necessary. In considering the period of benefit after confinement, it must be remembered that from the point of view of the infant's chance of survival, the longer that period can be, the better. On the other hand, from the viewpoint of costs, the rate of benefit or sick pay must be considered, as well as the duration. Two months' benefit on full pay costs the employer or the fund the same as three months on two thirds' pay, and in some cases the shorter period with the higher pay may be better for the mother. Some women, because of their poor physique or because of the nature of their work, would require a longer period. Others, who are robust, will suffer no harm if the time is shortened. From a medical point of view, under the conditions at present prevailing in Asia, a fair average period is two months' benefit, but there must be provision to extend this by at least another month where the woman's health is unsatisfactory. The medical representatives of the Workers' members and the Government of India recommend a total period of three months.

12. *Staff.* It must be remembered that any schemes for expanding medical services will require more staff, doctors, sanitary inspectors, technical and hospital assistants, nurses and midwives. The more well-trained assistants a doctor has, within reasonable limits, the more can he devote his time to skilled professional work. All this staff has to be trained; the training takes several years and requires adequate training schools. The first step is to ensure now that these training facilities are available. Particular importance should be given to the training of women doctors and qualified midwives.

13. This note is intended to be an indication of the main lines of the medical aspect of some of the problems of social security. More detailed studies can be found in the Bhore Report (Government of India Press, 1946), the *Official Bulletin* of the I.L.O. of 1 June 1944 and in Report I of this Conference. No attempt has been made to go into questions of detail. These details must vary with local conditions and can best be dealt with locally.

ANNEX II

Proposed Resolution Submitted to the Conference by the Committee on Social Security

PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING SOCIAL SECURITY

This resolution was adopted by the Conference at its Eleventh Sitting, on 6 November 1947, with amendments to subparagraphs 4 (c) and 6 (a). For the final amended text as adopted, see Appendix VII (10), p. 273.

The original text of amended subparagraph 4 (c), as submitted by the Committee, was as follows:

- (c) Medical care should be provided on an adequate scale and should include in-patient treatment wherever possible.¹

The original text of amended subparagraph 6 (a), as submitted by the Committee, was as follows:

- (a) Maternity benefits should be granted during maternity leave for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, *subject to the modifications indicated in the Report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care.*²

¹ The amendment added the words "in accordance with the recommendations of the Medical Care Subcommittee". See *Second Part: Eleventh Sitting*, pp. 121-122 (record vote).

² The amendment deleted the words printed in italics. See *Second Part: Eleventh Sitting*, p. 124.

APPENDIX IV

Second item on the agenda: Labour policy in general, including the enforcement of labour measures

(1) Report prepared by the International Labour Office.¹

The following information relating to conditions in India, Burma, Indo-China, and the Philippines was received too late for inclusion in the report prepared by the International Labour Office on item II on the agenda.

INDIA

Elaboration of labour policy.

A number of "Fundamental Principles of Governance", constituting a comprehensive statement of labour policy, have been approved by the Constituent Assembly for inclusion in the new Constitution of India. They are reproduced below.

PREAMBLE

1. The principles of policy set forth in this part are intended for the guidance of the State. While these principles are not cognisable by any court, they are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and their application in the making of laws shall be the duty of the State.

PRINCIPLES

2. The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the whole people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

3. The State shall, in particular, direct its policy toward securing—

- (i) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- (ii) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- (iii) that the operation of free competition shall not be allowed to result in the concentration of the ownership and control of essential commodities in a few individuals to the common detriment;

¹ Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, New Delhi, 1947, Report II: *Labour Policy in General, including the Enforcement of Labour Measures* (New Delhi, I.L.O., 1947).

- (iv) that there shall be equal pay for equal work for both men and women ;
- (v) that the strength and health of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children shall not be abused and that citizens shall not be forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age and strength ;
- (vi) that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.

4. The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement, and other cases of undeserved want.

5. The State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief for workers.

6. The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation, economic organisation and in other ways, to all workers, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.

7. The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code.

8. Every citizen is entitled to free primary education, and it shall be the duty of the State to provide within a period of 10 years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory primary education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.

9. The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the scheduled castes and the aboriginal tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

10. The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties.

11.

12.

Scope of the Factories Act.

This is as stated on pp. 155-156 of the Report, and not as stated on pp. 208-209.

BURMA

Industrial relations.

The Trade Disputes (Amendment) Act, 1947, which received the assent of the Governor of Burma on 9 July 1947, provides for the setting up of a Court of Industrial Arbitration and gives the Government wide powers to refer trade disputes to this Court for arbitration and to enforce its awards on all parties to the dispute. It further empowers the Government to appoint conciliation officers for mediating in or promoting the settlement of trade disputes.

The Public Utilities Protection Act, 1947, which came into force on 1 August 1947, restricts the right to strike by providing that no person shall do any act which will cause damage to or impair the efficiency or impede the working, *inter alia*, of any property used for the purposes of Government, any railway, tramway, road, canal or aerodrome, or any building or other property used in connection with the production, distribution or supply of any essential commodity, any sewage works, mine or factory.

INDO-CHINA

A French Decree of 24 July 1947 gives effect to the proposal to apply the principles of the metropolitan Labour Code uniformly to all groups of workers in Indo-China¹, and thus abolishes racial discrimination in social legislation. In addition, it specifically provides that the regulations to be adopted for this purpose shall include certain reforms with regard to labour.

Under this head, forced labour is formally prohibited. Provision is made for the fixing of a minimum wage and for its adjustment to fluctuations in the cost of living. The right of association of all workers and employers is to be formally recognised under conditions similar to those applying in France. Collective agreements will take the place of the existing general regulations. A system of conciliation and arbitration will be introduced for the settlement of collective labour disputes, and the members of the boards and committees in question will be chosen by the parties to the dispute or their representatives. Similarly, the members of the existing conciliation boards for individual disputes will be elected periodically by the employers and workers. The Decree also provides for the possibility of setting up works committees in undertakings employing over 100 workers, and for the appointment of workers' safety delegates in mines and certain large industries. To ensure that the workers benefit by the rights to which they are entitled under the Decree and to facilitate labour inspection, workbooks will be issued to all workers, and all employers will have to keep a register of their employees.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Office has received from the Department of Labour of the Philippines a "Memorandum on Philippine Conditions affecting Labour and Labour and Social Standards", from which the following particulars, supplementing the information contained in Report II, are drawn.

Land tenure.

In 1939, out of a total of 1,634,726 farms in the Philippines, 804,786, or 49.2 per cent., were operated by the owners, 254,637, or 15.6 per cent., by part owners, 573,716 or 35.0 per cent., by tenants (paying rent in cash or in kind), and 1,567, or 0.1 per cent., by farm managers. Of the total cultivated land, which amounted to over 3.9 million hectares, 64.0 per cent. was operated by owners or part-owners, 32.4 per cent. by tenants, and 3.5 per cent. by farm managers. The total farm area was 6.7 million acres; the average area of the farms was well under 5 hectares, except in the case of those operated by farm managers.

The relations between landlords and tenants in the rice-producing regions are governed by Act No. 4054 as amended by Republic Act No. 34, enacted primarily to protect the tenants and promote their wellbeing. It provides, among other things, that contracts between landlords and tenants shall be drawn in the language or dialect known to all the parties thereto, and prescribes the basis on which the rent due from the tenant shall be calculated where tenancy is on a share basis. Unless there is any

¹ Cf. p. 206 of Report II.

written agreement to the contrary, a tenant who furnishes the necessary implements and work animals and defrays all expenses of planting and cultivation is entitled to 70 per cent. of the net produce of the land in the case of first-class lands and 75 per cent. of the net produce in the case of other land. If the landlord furnishes the necessary work animals and farm implements and bears all the expenses of planting and cultivation, he is entitled to 70 per cent. of the net produce, and the tenant to only 30 per cent.; where the expenses of planting and cultivation are shared equally by the landlord and the tenant, the crop also is to be shared equally between the parties.

The co-operative movement.

The following table, showing the number of registered co-operative associations in the Philippines today, indicates the extent and nature of the Philippine co-operative movement ;

Consumers' co-operatives	878
Producers' co-operatives	127
Credit co-operatives	4
Retailers' co-operatives	52
Industrial co-operatives	4
Total	<u>1,065</u>

Employment offices.

As one means of reducing the widespread unemployment resulting from the wartime destruction of industries, Republic Act No. 1 appropriated 250,000 pesos for the organisation and maintenance of public placement offices, which are managed by the Department of Labour. There is today a free public employment office in each of nearly all the fifty provinces of the Philippines, apart from the office in Manila. In addition to these free public employment offices, there are also 16 fee-charging private employment agencies regulated and supervised by the Department of Labour under Act No. 3597 ; 10 of these are in Manila and the rest in the provinces.

Vocational and technical training.

The Government had made a beginning with the setting up of vocational schools even before the second World War, and the demand for skilled labour became very acute in the period immediately following the liberation of the country, when the United States Army recruited numerous technicians, mechanics, carpenters, draughtsmen, etc. The Government therefore authorised the reopening of 3 technical schools (college level), 2 vocational high schools and 22 secondary provincial trade schools with an approximate enrolment of 7,500. The vocational high schools and the provincial secondary trade schools offer the following courses : auto-mechanics, practical electricity, woodworking (furniture making), building construction, general metalworking, draughtsmanship ; and in the technical schools engineering courses are offered in addition to those offered in the secondary trade schools (stationary engines, marine engines, and diesel engines).

Side by side with the increase in the demand for skilled labour in industry, there has also been a steady expansion in the demand for skilled labour on the farms as a result of the Government's programme of mechanising and modernising farming. Three national regional agricul-

tural schools, 12 provincial agricultural high schools, and 9 provincial rural high schools are now in operation and are expected to meet at least part of this increased demand.

Health and safety measures.

Commonwealth Act No. 104 authorises the Secretary of Labour to promulgate and enforce rules, regulations and orders for the safety of persons employed in mines and quarries and other industrial enterprises. It requires every employer to provide reasonable and approved safety devices, tools and appliances. A decision of the Department of Justice has held that the Act applies not only to mines and similar undertakings but to all industrial establishments where safety regulations are necessary.

Remuneration of labour.

There is at present no minimum wage legislation covering workers in private employment. Commonwealth Act No. 103, setting up the Court of Industrial Relations, however, authorises the Court, when directed by the President of the Philippines, to investigate and study all pertinent facts related to any industry or to industries in any locality with a view to determining the necessity and fairness of fixing for such industry or locality a minimum wage or share for labourers or the minimum rental to be paid by tenants to landowners. Further, when industrial disputes are referred to the Court of Industrial Relations for decision, the Court may, through awards, fix the rates of salaries and wages that should be paid by the employers concerned to their employees and labourers.

Trade union development.

The rapid recovery of the trade union movement during 1946 is shown by the fact that the number of labour organisations registered with the Department of Labour at the end of the year was 237. The reports of the organisations available at that date showed a total of 148 unions with 354,086 members, a more than sevenfold increase on the previous year's figures.

(2) Text of resolutions submitted in accordance with Article 10 of the Standing Orders of the Conference and assigned to the Committee on Labour Policy for consideration.¹

2. *Proposed resolution regarding co-operation, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Recognising the great utility of the co-operative movement as a means of raising the standard of living of the agricultural workers, self-employed or otherwise ;

Recognising further that there are great possibilities of extending and expanding the scope of co-operative endeavour in the fields of production, marketing and the organisation of social services, and that the technical problems involved in the organisation and effective functioning of the co-operative movement to promote rural developments in the Asian countries require detailed study ;

¹ Cf. *Appendix II* (3) and (4), second and third reports of the Selection Committee, pp. 195 and 197.

The Conference requests the Governing Body to convene, at an early date, a conference of experts in co-operation to study these problems and submit suitable recommendations for further action in the light of the organisation and achievements of the co-operative movement in other countries, the difficulties met with and the manner in which they have been overcome.

3. *Proposed resolution regarding the constitution of an industrial committee for plantation labour problems, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

The Conference requests the Governing Body to give early consideration to the question of setting up an industrial committee to consider the special problems of plantation workers in the Asian countries represented at the Conference.

4. *Proposed resolution regarding industrial home and cottage industry workers, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas industrial home and handicraft workers greatly outnumber workers in factories and industrial and commercial establishments ;

Whereas their number is likely to increase with the decentralisation of industry and the further development of cottage industries, the encouragement of which is a main feature of the economic development programmes of Asian countries ;

Whereas the protection of these workers requires urgent and careful study ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to make detailed and comparative studies of the problems affecting industrial home and cottage workers and to submit, for the consideration of the next regional conference, one or more reports with recommendations, if any, for improving their conditions.

5. *Proposed resolution regarding employment services, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

The Conference has noted with interest wartime developments in the organisation of employment services in Asian countries and their subsequent extension and utilisation after the war for helping to place former service personnel and war workers in employment. The Conference expresses the hope that this organisation, the utility of which is being increasingly recognised and appreciated by all parties, will be further expanded and that its services will be made available to as many classes of workers as possible.

The Conference desires to emphasise that the development of employment service organisations is necessary not only for securing a proper utilisation of national manpower resources and for promoting the mobility of labour, but also as an indispensable preliminary to the introduction of schemes for unemployment provision.

The Conference invites the Governments concerned to give consideration to the principles and practices embodied in the International Labour Code, as fully as possible in organising the employment services.

The Conference recommends to its members, the representatives of Governments as well as those of employers' and workers' organisations, to take steps to ensure that workers are recruited, preferably, only through the employment offices where such exist.

The Conference requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to make a detailed study of the employment organisations in the Asian countries concerned, for the consideration of subsequent regional conferences, together with suggestions, if any, in the light of international experience, as to the action required to enhance the utility of these services.

6. *Proposed resolution regarding recruitment, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

The Conference desires to draw the attention of the Governments of the Asian countries concerned to the necessity for eliminating agencies such as jobbers, recruiting contractors, kanganis, çais, etc., and ensuring that workers are recruited directly by the employers. Where, owing to the necessity for recruiting workers from a wide area and the absence of suitable employment organisations administered by public authorities, recruiting agents have to be appointed, adequate regulations should be framed and enforced to enable the workers, before leaving their homes, to understand clearly the terms and conditions of service, and to prevent these workers from being placed under any personal obligation to the recruiting agent or any other intermediary, and to ensure that the terms and conditions of recruitment provide for the repatriation, where necessary, of workers at the employers' cost.

The Conference invites the Governing Body to instruct the Office to study the extent to which recruitment systems now in force are not satisfactory and to submit a report for the consideration of the Conference at its next session.

The Conference further desires to stress the necessity for taking steps to eliminate, within the shortest practicable period, all intermediate agencies between the employer and the worker, so that the former will be responsible not only for the conditions of work, but also for the payment of wages to the workers and the observance of the statutory regulations, such as grant of holidays, etc.

The Conference requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to make a detailed study of the measures taken by the countries concerned to give effect to this proposal and submit a report for the consideration of the next regional conference.

7. *Proposed resolution regarding vocational and technical training, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas technical and vocational training is of great importance for improving the skill of the workers and increasing their productivity ;

Whereas Asian countries require assistance in their efforts to organise vocational and technical training in a systematic way ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to undertake a systematic and detailed study of the facilities for vocational and technical training now available in Asian countries and of the practicable measures that can be undertaken to extend and improve them, and to submit one or more reports for the consideration of the next regional conference.

8. *Proposed resolution regarding the training of Asian workers in advanced industrial countries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas the provision of an adequate supply of skilled workers is an indispensable condition for the success of the industrialisation and other

development programmes proposed to be undertaken in Asian countries with a view to improving the standard of living of the people ;

Whereas there are locally few or no opportunities for the acquisition of the trained skills necessary for the implementation of the programme of industrialisation ;

Whereas such skills can be acquired only in countries which have reached a high level of industrialisation and technical development ;

Whereas, further, experience of the training of Chinese workers in the United States and of Indian workers in the United Kingdom and in the United States has proved to be beneficial ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to ascertain, in consultation with the Governments and employers' and workers' organisations in industrially developed countries, what maximum opportunities can be provided for the training of Asian workers in skilled occupations, and to draw up, in consultation with the Governments and employers' and workers' organisations in the countries concerned, a programme for the systematic training of an adequate number of workers in various skilled occupations, so as to facilitate industrial development in Asian countries.

9. *Proposed resolution regarding the employment of women, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Having considered the suggestions contained in the Chapter on employment of women in Report II, "Labour Policy in General, including the Enforcement of Labour Measures";

The Conference requests the Governing Body to invite the Office to make a further examination of—

- (a) questions relating to the type of occupations other than those involving rough and heavy work, in which the employment of women should be encouraged ;
- (b) measures necessary for the protection of the health of women workers who are still employed on heavy work ; and
- (c) administrative arrangements for carrying out a policy designed to promote the employment of women in accordance with these proposals.

10. *Proposed resolution regarding wage policy, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

The Conference, while noting the improvements in wages that have been secured in recent years in many of the Asian countries represented at the Conference, considers that every effort should be made—

- (a) to improve the wages in industries and occupations where they are still low ; and
- (b) where conditions are similar, to standardise, as far as possible, in each country the wages in each industry or occupation.

While recognising that collective agreements between employers and workers are normally the most satisfactory means of adjustment of wages, the Conference is of the opinion that, in view of the comparative lack of organisation among employers and to a much greater degree among workers in most of the Asian countries represented at the Conference, Governments should take an active part in the fixation and enforcement of fair wages. The Conference accordingly requests the Governments to assist, by all means in their power, the conclusion of collective agreements wherever

feasible, and to formulate appropriate legislative and administrative measures to set up statutory wage boards on which workers and employers will be equally represented, with such numbers of independent persons as may be considered desirable, with power to fix fair wages and standard wage rates, and provide cost-of-living allowances measured by index numbers built and periodically revised on the basis of family budget enquiries, so that workers may not suffer deterioration of real wages owing to increases in the cost of living.

The Conference further requests the Governing Body to instruct the Office to undertake a detailed study of the extent to which collective agreements have been successful in securing fair wages for workers in Asian countries, and of the working of wage boards or industrial tribunals which have been instrumental in securing fair wages, and to suggest, in the light of international experience, what further steps can and should be taken to secure fair wages for all workers, and to submit one or more reports for the consideration of the next regional conference.

11. Proposed resolution regarding conditions of work, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

The Conference attaches great importance to the evolution and enforcement of fair terms of employment which, while maintaining industrial discipline, will secure for the workers fair and well-defined conditions of service, reasonable security of tenure and opportunities for advancement consistent with the maintenance of efficiency. The Conference accordingly requests the Governments of the countries concerned to take appropriate measures in this respect, and further requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to undertake a detailed study of this question and, in particular, of the steps already taken or proposed to be taken in this direction in the Asian countries represented at the Conference, and to submit one or more reports for the information and consideration of the next regional conference.

12. Proposed resolution regarding family budget enquiries, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Considering that the only effective method of judging the improvement in real wages of workers is by means of family budget enquiries designed to ascertain their income and expenditure and the goods and services over which the expenditure is spread ;

The Conference recommends for the consideration of the Governments of the countries represented at the Conference the desirability of instituting at regular intervals family budget enquiries, in association with nutrition experts.

The Conference also requests the Governing Body to invite the Office to formulate proposals for ensuring that such enquiries are made on a comparable basis, to make a detailed study of the results of the enquiries already instituted and to submit periodical reports for consideration at the subsequent sessions of the regional conference.

13. Proposed resolution regarding housing, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

Whereas housing conditions for the great mass of people are mostly below standard in the countries of Asia ;

Whereas the 'formulation of a policy designed to improve housing conditions is both important and urgent ;

Whereas, further, housing problems, arising as a result of industrialisation involving the movement of workers from the countryside to urban areas, also require careful consideration ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to invite the Office to undertake a systematic, comprehensive and comparative study of the nature and dimensions of the problem relating to the housing of rural and urban population in the Asian countries and the extent to which international experience will be useful in solving them, particularly in regard to the provision of finance, materials, town planning, location of industries, fixation of land values, fixation of rents, subsidies, etc., and to submit one or more reports for the consideration of the next regional conference.

14. Proposed resolution regarding rural populations, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that the social and economic problems of millions of primary producers in the rural regions of Asia are many and varied in their character ;

Considering that these rural populations constitute more than half the total working people of the world ; and

Considering, further, that the working and living conditions of these Asian people are deplorable and require early improvement ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

- (a) to direct the Office to prepare a comprehensive seven-year programme of action for improving the conditions of life and work of the rural populations in the Asian region, with particular reference to the problems of village artisans, small owner-cultivators, tenant-cultivators, landless labourers, co-operative organisations in agriculture, the spread of literacy, medical service in rural areas, relief during famines, floods and other calamities, and other social security measures in general ; and
- (b) to place this programme of action on the agenda of a future session of the Asian Regional Conference at an early date.

15. Proposed resolution regarding workers in plantations, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that plantation agriculture producing such important commodities as rubber, cinchona, tea, coffee, and sugar-cane occupies an important place in the economy of a number of tropical countries of Asia ;

Considering that the conditions of life and work of the vast number of labourers engaged in these plantations are extremely unsatisfactory, particularly in respect of recruitment, wages, housing and freedom of association ; and

Considering, further, that their conditions of life and work remain

either almost entirely unregulated or inadequately regulated by means of national legislation or otherwise ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

- (a) to call the attention of the Governments concerned to the immediate necessity for enacting appropriate legislation for improving the conditions of plantation workers so as at least to bring them into line with the conditions of industrial workers in general, particularly in respect of hours of work, payment of wages, workmen's compensation, maternity benefit, freedom of association, and social security measures ; and
- (b) to direct the International Labour Office to undertake a special study of those problems which are peculiar to plantation labour as such and to place these questions on the agenda of a future session of the Asian Regional Conference at an early date.

16. *Proposed resolution regarding forced labour, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that various forms of forced or free labour, different types of illegitimate exactions, and systems of servile land tenure are still prevalent in the agrarian structure of the Asian countries ; and

Considering that the existence of compulsory labour or servitude in any form is not only a denial of the fundamental right of human beings as such, but also a grave menace to the speedy development of the economy of the country concerned ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

- (a) to call the attention of the Governments of Asian countries to the necessity of taking effective steps for the eradication of forced labour and servitudes in all their forms ; and
- (b) to direct the International Labour Office to conduct an exhaustive enquiry into this question and to place it on the agenda of future sessions of the Asian Regional Conference at an early date.

17. *Proposed resolution regarding aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that large sections of populations belonging to aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes in various Asian countries, due to their extreme backwardness and ignorance, suffer from special disabilities, disadvantages and exploitations, both in the economic and social spheres ; and

Considering that the problems of these sections of the population require special attention and treatment ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to direct the Office to undertake a firsthand study of the problems of aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes in the Asian region and to place these questions on the agenda of a future session of the Asian Regional Conference at an early date.

18. *Proposed resolution regarding housing, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that conditions of housing of industrial workers in Asian countries, which were very unsatisfactory even before the war, have very much deteriorated since the war, as a result of which all the evils associated with bad housing conditions are continuing in an aggravated form ;

Considering that decent housing conditions are essential for the health and efficiency of the worker ; and

Considering, further, that the International Labour Organisation has not so far adopted a Convention or Recommendation on the problem of the housing of industrial workers ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

- (a) to place this question on the agenda of a future session of the International Labour Conference at an early date ; and
- (b) to call the special attention of the Governments of Asian countries to the necessity for devising immediate and effective ways and means to provide proper housing for workers in industrial areas.

19. *Proposed resolution on co-operation, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.*

The Preparatory Regional Asian Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and

Having met at New Delhi,

Considering that the universal experience long since established not only in the countries of other continents but already also in the majority of the countries of Asia has demonstrated the part which the different categories of rural co-operatives, handicraftsmen's co-operatives, workers' productive co-operatives, consumer co-operatives and housing co-operatives are able to play in the economic and social uplifting of the working populations of the countryside and the industrial centres ;

Considering, in particular, that the co-operative institutions of all categories are able to contribute efficaciously, in the interests of the community at large, to the liberation of the primary producers, the handicraft workers and the domestic industries from usury in all its aspects ; to their guidance in the complexity of the market economy ; and to the augmentation of their purchasing power by propagating and facilitating the improvement of techniques, by increasing productivity and by reducing the costs of production and distribution ;

Considering, furthermore, that they are, or are able to be, efficacious instruments of education, by the habits of providence, thrift and hygiene, as by the demand for general enlightenment which they cultivate among their members, by the training which they give progressively in the handling of economic matters, by the qualities of initiative and the sense of responsibility which their democratic methods of administration develop among their members ;

And that, for all these reasons, it is desirable that in every possible measure the development and the operation of co-operative organisations

should be included in all the plans of economic and social reconstruction of the Asian countries ;

Considering, however, that the very efficacy of co-operative organisations is wedded to their character of voluntary associations and to their particular methods of democratic administration, *i.e.*, to the quality of their members and leaders, and that this quality is necessarily bound up with a preparatory and a permanent effort of co-operative education and training ;

Considering at the same time that, in the historical, geographical and economic circumstances particular to the majority of the Asian countries, the development of the co-operative movement according to plan and on a sound basis calls for action by the Governments in the form of propulsion, encouragement and supervision for a period the duration of which cannot be predicted at present ;

Adopts the following resolution :

1. Provisions which may still obstruct the full development and free functioning of co-operative organisations should be eliminated where they exist, in legislation (general, co-operative, fiscal, economic, etc.), in regulations and in institutions ; and in their conceptions and duties and the quality of their staff, the official organs and departments charged with promoting the development of the co-operative movement should be, and always remain, adapted to the necessities of this development.
2. A comprehensive and continuous effort should be made, with the full technical and financial support of the public authorities, to extend the teaching of co-operation so as to reach the broadest classes of the population, and simultaneously to train leaders, administrators and a competent executive staff for the co-operative movement.
3. Wherever it is already possible, and progressively as it becomes possible, the co-operative organisations should be given a place corresponding to their capacity in the preparation and execution of any co-ordinated economic plan, while preserving respect for their inherent principles and their administrative autonomy.
4. Periodical regional meetings should be held to provide officials of the co-operative departments as well as representatives of the co-operative organisations in the Asian countries with the opportunity of pooling their experiences, comparing the results of their work and improving their methods ; and the International Labour Office should be kept informed of the work of such conferences.
5. The next regional Asian conference should have the opportunity to resume examination of the problems associated with the development of the co-operative movement in the Asian countries and to discuss and devise means of encouraging the establishment of direct trade relations between co-operative societies of Asian countries.

20. *Proposed resolution on labour welfare standards, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.*

Whereas the human element in industry is of primary importance and the raising of labour welfare standards is synonymous with the increase in the efficiency of production ; and

Whereas the minimum standard of labour welfare should be worked out carefully for the Asian region by the tripartite machinery of the International Labour Organisation ;

The Conference recommends to the International Labour Office that--

- (a) the fact-finding mission to be set up by the I.L.O. should be asked to make thorough investigations of labour welfare measures common in this region and submit a full report to the Office ; and that
- (b) this subject should be put on the agenda of a regular session of the Asian Regional Conference for proper action.

21. Proposed resolution concerning the protection of children and young workers, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.

Whereas the International Labour Conference at its 27th Session 1945 passed a resolution on the protection of children and young workers, which stated that :

The Conference, conscious of its obligations to further the material and spiritual advancement of working people everywhere, reaffirms its conviction that in order to develop to the fullest extent the capacities of the workers and citizens of the future it is necessary that Governments, whilst encouraging the fullest discharge of individual and family obligations, should accept responsibility for assuring the health, welfare and education of all children and young persons and the protection of all youthful persons of either sex, regardless of race, creed, colour or family circumstances, both by national action and by appropriate measures of international co-operation ;

And whereas the employment of children and young workers is a problem of special importance to many of the peoples of Asia because of the prevalence of child labour in widely diversified trades and occupations where regulation under public authority has not been found practicable to date over the age of admission to employment, conditions of work or provisions for apprenticeship, and because of the limitations in the development of free, compulsory and universal education in accordance with the aforesaid principle ;

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in New Delhi, October-November 1947, requests the Governing Body to call the attention of the Governments represented at the Conference to the following measures for improving the protection of children and young workers, which, together with the proposals to be submitted to the Conference by the Committee on Programme of Action, merit consideration with a view to the progressive adoption of such measures at the earliest opportunity compatible with existing social and economic conditions, and requests the Governing Body to consider, in co-operation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and any other international agency which may be concerned, what further measures can be taken to implement these standards in the Asian countries.

I. GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

1. Compulsory free education should be continuously expanded as a condition of equal vocational opportunity for all children and young persons ; it should be of a standard and duration to permit adequate physical, intellectual and moral development covering the years up to

the general minimum age for admission to employment as provided by national laws and regulations, with additional provisions for young persons to continue education in accordance with their abilities to benefit thereby.

2. The age of school leaving should be raised progressively and at the same rates as the minimum age for admission to employment, the goal for such age being set at fifteen years when social and economic conditions permit.

3. Provision should be made for expanding progressively the available educational facilities, in accordance with an integrated plan covering localities, regions and eventually the entire nation, until general fundamental or basic education shall become accessible to all children of both sexes.

4. Instruction should be designed to meet the actual needs of children and young persons with an educational programme suited to their age and aptitudes.

5. The vocational interests of children and young persons should be fostered and their eventual selection of employment or a career be guided in such ways as are consistent with the purposes of general education and as may at the same time develop an idea of, taste for, and esteem for work.

6. Consideration should be given to the needs for economic assistance as circumstances may require, including such items as free use of text books, materials and school equipment ; free or low-cost meals ; free or reduced cost of transportation ; and maintenance allowances and student aid as these may become practicable.

7. Qualified teaching personnel should be recruited and teacher-training developed to meet the needs of the expanding school system, and such standards of remuneration and conditions of employment should be provided as would assure an adequate teaching staff of high quality.

II. VOCATIONAL TRAINING

8. The network of free technical and vocational schools should be extended progressively to wider groups of children and young persons with a view to meeting, in accordance with their urgency and practicability, the needs of localities, regions and the national economy for technical and skilled employees and to providing increasing numbers of young persons with adequate opportunities for developing their technical or trade knowledge in accordance with their occupational interests and aptitudes.

9. Programmes should be adapted to the social and economic requirements of different industries, regions or localities, and should be co-ordinated to meet the needs of the national economy in accordance with a general plan.

10. Where facilities for such vocational training are lacking or are strictly limited, Government subsidies should be granted to develop or to enlarge existing institutions ; and undertakings of such size as to

make such arrangements practicable should be encouraged to meet the cost of training young persons in numbers proportionate to their size and need for trained personnel.

11. All technical and trade training should be organised by or be under the supervision of competent public authorities in consultation with the appropriate employers' and workers' organisations.

12. Courses should be organised in grades according to the needs of each branch of economic activity, and curricula for the courses in different schools and different grades should be co-ordinated to facilitate the transfer and promotion of students in accordance with individual need and merit.

13. The qualifications required in the examination on termination of technical and vocational training should be uniformly fixed for any given occupation or trade and the certificate issued as a result of these examinations should be recognised throughout the country ; persons of both sexes and of all races, creeds and social groupings should have equal rights to obtain the same certificate or diploma on completion of the same studies.

14. Part-time supplementary courses under skilled direction should be provided progressively to make available to young workers, whether or not they have received training before entering employment, the opportunity of extending their trade or technical knowledge.

15. Instruction should be given by qualified personnel, including persons with theoretical knowledge and with practical training and experience, and programmes should be developed progressively for the recruitment, preparation and adequate remuneration of such teachers.

16. Regional, national and international exchange of students and teachers should be progressively promoted to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and experience, in co-operation where desired with the International Labour Organisation or other appropriate specialised agencies affiliated with the United Nations Organisation.

III. APPRENTICESHIP

17. As soon as practicable laws or regulations for the control of apprenticeship of children and young persons should be established progressively under the supervision of competent public authorities acting in co-operation with the appropriate employers' and workers' organisations.

18. Such measures should make provision in respect of—

- (a) the technical and other qualifications required of employers in order that they may take and train apprentices ;
- (b) the conditions governing the entry of young persons into apprenticeship ; and
- (c) the mutual rights and obligations of master and apprentice.

19. Apprenticeship should not be allowed below an age to be fixed by national laws or regulations and should not be permitted below the compulsory school-leaving age when such age has been established.

20. As soon as practicable, entry into apprenticeship should be made in every case subject to medical examination, priority for the development of such provisions being given to trades or occupations involving risks to the health and normal physical development of the young person.

21. Regulations should be developed progressively covering the registration of apprentices, limitation of their numbers, duration of the apprenticeship, standards of performance, methods of supervision, examinations to be conducted and certificates to be awarded on the expiry of the apprenticeship, and payment of apprentice wages, including holidays with pay and sick leave, etc., in accordance with the needs of each trade or occupation and with regard to the protection of the interests and welfare of the young persons.

22. Collaboration should be maintained between the bodies responsible for supervision of apprenticeship and the general and vocational education authorities, including those engaged in vocational guidance, the public employment exchanges and labour inspection services.

IV. AGE FOR ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT IN NON-INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS

23. As soon as practicable, measures should be adopted to promote the progressive abolition of child labour in non-industrial occupations as defined by national laws and regulations, such control over the labour of children to be extended as social and economic circumstances permit, from more congested to less congested geographic areas or fields of employment, or from large to small-size undertakings.

24. Regard should be paid to the development of simultaneous measures for assuring the maintenance of children and for organising compulsory free education until at least the same age as the minimum age established for admission to employment, and where possible, consideration should be given to the desirability of simultaneous development of controls over the minimum age of employment, covering the various types of industrial and non-industrial employment, especially in urban areas, to avoid inducing young children to enter the less regulated and less protected occupations.

25. Where exceptions are made for light work of children, such exceptions should not be permitted for work during school hours or in such manner as to prejudice the beneficial effects of education, and they should be granted only to children who are not more than a specified age below the minimum age of employment which has been established.

26. Special attention should be given continuously and progressively to those occupations which by their nature or circumstances are dangerous to the life, health or morals of children or young persons employed therein, such as street trades, itinerant occupations or employment in places to which the public have access, to provide higher ages of admission to employment and to give priority to their regulation.

27. Special attention should be given to the problems of regulating admission to domestic employment, with particular reference to the elimination as soon as possible of the placing of children for quasi-adoption in the family of an employer where they work for maintenance.

28. In order to ensure the due enforcement of provisions concerning the minimum age of admission to employment in non-industrial occupations as in industry, national laws or regulations should provide, as practicable, for progressive development and extension of an adequate system of public inspection and supervision, including suitable means for facilitating the identification and supervision of the persons under a specified age engaged in employments and occupations covered by the law, and penalties for breaches of the said laws or regulations. These provisions should include some form of documentary proof of age issued free of charge (such as a "yardstick measure" of appropriate weight and height, medical examination to determine fitness, or, if available, birth certificate), to be entered in a record to be kept by the employer or young worker in his possession in order to prove his compliance with the law. Such inspection should be carried on by trained and qualified persons, including women, with provision for adequate remuneration and such conditions of employment as will assure the recruitment and maintenance of adequate staff.

V. PROTECTION OF YOUNG WORKERS

29. Hours of work for young workers under a specified age, to be established as practicable, should be progressively regulated under national laws and regulations to provide limits in all types of occupations, which should be compatible with the maintenance of the health and the educational and recreational needs of children and young persons and which should tend to be less than those provided for adults by law or collective agreements.

30. As may be found practicable, the regulation of night work of young workers under specified ages should be progressively extended to the various categories of employment, to prevent undue fatigue and to permit normal and healthy physical, intellectual and moral development, and employment should be forbidden during a specified night period for young workers under the specified age.

31. Without prejudice to the fixing of a higher age of admission for certain occupations especially hazardous to life and health, every effort should be made to prescribe special conditions of employment for children and young persons engaged in occupations involving special hazards to the health and safety of the young worker, such provisions as a minimum to include training in safety methods prior to employment, adequate supervision, periodic medical examination in unhealthy or exacting occupations, and prescription of maximum weight of loads, having regard to the age and sex of the worker and the conditions of work.

VI. ADMINISTRATION OF PROTECTIVE POLICIES AND FURTHER PROGRAMME

32. Provision should be made for effective planning and administration of services to promote the welfare of children and young workers by establishing specialised agencies or personnel under public authority to deal with social programmes for the protection of youth with full regard for the interdependence of the various aspects of these programmes.

33. Investigation as to the problem of young workers and the means of assuring to them in all branches of economic activity the provisions

and protections set forth in this resolution should be carried on continuously by such specialised agencies of the Governments concerned, and the findings should be used as a basis for planning the steps progressively to be taken to assure to all young workers adequate provisions for their health and welfare.

34. With a view to further encouraging the progressive development of these measures, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office is requested to place discussion of these questions or some portion of them upon the agenda of the succeeding Asian regional conferences.

22. *Proposed resolution concerning the employment of women and the protection of maternity, submitted by Mr. Liu, Workers' delegate, China.*

Whereas the 30th Session of the International Labour Conference, 1947, adopted a Resolution concerning women's work, recommending regional conferences to consider the problems of women workers in the light of the principles and measures for dealing with these problems adopted by the International Labour Organisation at successive sessions of the Conference ; and

Whereas the protection of maternity and promotion of the welfare of woman workers is a matter of vital and special importance to all the peoples of Asia because of the low standards of life, lack of education and prevalence of heavy labour carried on by women which characterise many of these countries and peoples ;

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in New Delhi, October-November 1947, requests the Governing Body to call the attention of the Governments represented at the Conference to the following measures for improving the position of women workers in the countries of Asia, which merit consideration together with the proposals to be submitted to the Conference by the Committees on Social Security and Programme of Action with a view to the progressive adoption of such measures.

I. MATERNITY PROTECTION

1. The protection of maternity should be assured for progressively wider categories of women workers, including women in all forms of heavy labour, and advancing from large-scale to small-scale enterprises and from congested to less congested districts, with due regard for women employed in large-scale agriculture, such as on plantations.

2. In any public or private undertaking or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed, a woman—

- (a) should be granted maternity leave during the six weeks following her confinement and should have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks ;
- (b) should have the right to extended leave, within limits to be set by national laws or regulations, upon production of a medical certificate indicating illness or inability to work arising out of pregnancy or confinement ;

- (c) should, while she is absent from her work in pursuance of paragraphs (a) and (b) above, be paid benefits adequate to maintain herself and child in accordance with the provisions for maternity benefit set forth in the accompanying resolution on social security, or in the absence of such provisions or during a waiting period should be paid a similar benefit from public funds without a means test, any tax levied for such funds which may fall upon undertakings being based upon the total working force, both male and female ;
- (d) should, in any case, if she is nursing her child, be allowed half an hour twice daily during working hours for this purpose.

3. Women who are pregnant or nursing mothers should not be dismissed for that reason or for any other reason except as provided for by law or collective agreements ; dismissal should be prohibited during the whole of maternity leave and on the expiry of such leave the woman should be reinstated in her position or its equivalent ; if the work performed by a pregnant woman or nursing mother is prejudicial to her health, she should be allowed every facility for a change of work.

4. As soon as services are available, medical supervision should be exercised during pregnancy and after confinement, organised either under health insurance institutions where such a scheme provides maternity benefits, or under a public maternity service ; attendance by a doctor or certified midwife should be provided free of charge during confinement.

5. Children's crèches and day nurseries should be established in expanding numbers, so that the infants and children under school age of working women may be looked after in healthy and safe conditions ; such crèches or day nurseries should be located with due regard for the convenience of mother and child, should be under the direction and supervision of the competent public authority, but wherever possible should utilise the experience and facilities of existing institutions providing such services in co-operation with the qualified women's and community organisations concerned ; such services should be staffed by trained and qualified persons, recruited, trained and maintained with such remuneration and conditions of employment as would provide adequate personnel.

6. Additional social services, such as canteens, milk, and provision of essential clothing and layettes, should be made available for mother and child from public funds or at low cost.

II. PROTECTION FOR WOMEN ENGAGED IN HEAVY LABOUR

7. Protection from exploitation and arduous conditions of work should be provided for women workers in occupations involving heavy labour, such as women working as helpers in loading and carrying, or women recruited under a contract system of employment who in some countries or occupations are excluded from coverage under the existing law effective for specified undertakings ; equal regard for women as for men should be given in respect of wages, hours of work, conditions of work, social security and holidays with pay, etc.

8. Protection from serious risks to the health of women engaged in these occupations should be provided progressively with special regard for the following considerations :

- (a) Weights to be lifted or carried and loaded or unloaded should be limited by national laws or regulations with due regard to the physique of the worker, the methods of lifting and carrying employed and the instruction in such methods supplied to the worker, the distances and heights involved and frequency of lifting or carrying required, in accordance with scientifically established standards.
- (b) Employers should be required to provide separate and suitable accommodation in workplaces to serve as wash rooms, toilets, dressing rooms, etc., for women.
- (c) Employers should be required to provide a sufficient number of seats for women to work, or rest from work, in comfort adequate to maintain their health.

9. Such measures of protection as described in the above paragraphs should be extended to women in large-scale agriculture or on plantations as soon as means and facilities for enforcement of these measures may be developed and staffed.

III. VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN

10. Facilities and opportunities should be provided progressively for vocational training and employment of women in semi-skilled and skilled occupations involving dexterity and quickness of movement which are especially adapted to the capacities of women, such as light assembly work and light machine work in the metal and electrical trades, winding of light armatures and fine work in instrument making, etc., as well as in such trades as textiles, needlework or sewing and domestic service, where women are traditionally employed.

11. In view of the large amount of illiteracy prevalent among women of many Asian countries, special attention should be given to developing part-time programmes of basic education to reduce illiteracy and to provide the elementary education essential for admission to and profitable utilisation of vocational training facilities.

IV. WAGES OF WOMEN WORKERS

12. Progressive extension should be made of machinery for fixing minimum rates of wages to apply to traditionally low-paid occupations where a considerable number or proportion of women are employed, with special attention to those industries or occupations in which effective regulation of wages by collective agreement does not exist.

13. In all cases where minimum (living) wages rates are being fixed, the same principles should be applied in determining the rates for women as for men. In occupations where female labour is employed, care should be taken that, in estimating the value of the work, the skill which it requires is assessed on the same basis as in the case of work done by men.

14. When deciding the scope of minimum wage fixing machinery, particular attention should be given to home industries in which a large volume of female labour is engaged, and the conditions obtaining in these industries should be borne in mind when determining methods of applying such machinery.

15. In the interest of both men and women workers, consideration should be given to the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, with a view to establishing procedures for determining wage rates on the basis of job content without regard to sex, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

V. INVESTIGATION AND FURTHER ACTION

16. Investigation into the problems of women workers and the means of assuring to them in all branches of economic activity the provisions and protections set forth in this resolution should be carried on continuously by the Governments of Asian countries, and the findings should be used as a basis for planning the steps to be taken progressively for assuring to women workers the provisions essential to their health and the welfare of the Asian peoples.

17. With a view to further encouraging the progressive development of these measures, the Governing Body is requested to place discussion of these questions, or some portion of them, upon the agenda of the succeeding Asian regional conferences.

39. *Proposed resolution regarding the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering that the Asian countries, though they are predominantly agricultural in their economy and though an overwhelming majority of the agricultural producers of the world live in them, are not adequately represented on the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labour Organisation ; and

Considering that adequate representation on this Committee for the Asian region is essential in the interest of the vast agricultural population of Asia ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office suitably to modify the regulations relating to the composition of the Permanent Agricultural Committee so as to give adequate representation to Asian countries.

44. *Proposed resolution regarding land tenure and land relationship, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas a very large number of persons in Asian countries are cultivators with uneconomic holdings who are in many cases tenants-at-will ;

Whereas the study and formulation of satisfactory systems of tenure and land relationship are of the utmost importance to them ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to undertake, in co-operation with appropriate international organisations, a study of the systems of land tenure and holdings and the relationship between the actual cultivator and others having rights on or to land in the Asian countries represented at the Conference, and to suggest what modifications might be made in existing land relationships with a view to increasing production, securing for the actual cultivator a fair return for his labour and promoting social justice.

48. *Proposed resolution concerning the role of small industries, domestic industries and handicraft industries in the industrialisation of the countries of Asia, submitted by H.R.H. the Princess Yukanthor, Government delegate, Cambodia.*

In the process of industrialisation the countries of Asia should devote attention not only to curing and repairing the evils caused by industrial concentration, but also to preventing it on every occasion and to the greatest possible extent.

Although the introduction of the steam engine and the consequent industrial development in Western countries produced concentration of manpower and capital, the use of light petrol motors and small electric motors and also the continuing development of the breaking down of operations today enable a large number of industries to be decentralised. An opportunity is thus offered to the countries of Asia to embark upon a new procedure of industrialisation, better suited to their traditions and aspirations, and likely, in certain conditions, to avoid some of the evils caused by the industrial revolution in Western countries.

The Conference therefore considers that efforts should be made in the countries of Asia to found some branches of industrial production on the basis of small industries, domestic industries and handicraft industries, whether existing or to be created, provided that these industries can find the means to evolve and to adapt and organise themselves.

The Conference accordingly invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, in collaboration with the other international organisations concerned, to take appropriate action to assist the Governments of the countries of Asia to discover means of protecting the workers employed in these industries and also of organising these industries, especially on co-operative and federated lines, so that their small and autonomous undertakings can benefit from the financial, technical and commercial advantages normally enjoyed by large undertakings in concentrated industry.

(3) Report of the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

The Conference, at its Third Sitting, on 28 October 1947, set up, on the recommendation of the Selection Committee, the Committee on Labour Policy, composed of 12 Government members, 12 Employers' members and 12 Workers' members.

The Officers appointed by the Committee at its 1st sitting were as follows :

Chairman: Hon. Maung, Burmese Government member ; succeeded by Mr. Nanda, Indian Government member.

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Khan, Pakistan, Employers' member, and Mr. Monk, Australian Workers' member.

Reporter: Mr. Hah, Chinese Government member.

The Representative of the Secretary-General was Mr. Hai-fong Cheng, assisted by Miss Fairchild and Mr. Colombain as experts.

The Committee held nine sittings.

The Conference referred to the Committee as a basis for its discussion a report entitled " Labour Policy in General, including the Enforcement of

¹ See *Second Part : Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*, pp. 125 and 141.

Labour Measures'', being Report II prepared by the Office for the Conference, and a series of 24 proposed resolutions submitted by various Government and Workers' delegates to the Conference.¹

Before proceeding to examine the resolutions, the Committee held a short general discussion, but in view of the comprehensive nature of the assignment indicated a preference to proceed at once to consider the resolutions. On the suggestion of the Chinese Government member, it was decided to group the resolutions in accordance with their subject-matter to facilitate discussion.

Upon the suggestion of the Selection Committee, a working committee was set up, composed of the officers, one representative each from the three groups (Mr. Hah, Chinese Government member ; Mr. Perera, Ceylon Employers' member ; and Mr. Desai, Indian Workers' member) and the Representative of the Secretary-General. The duties of the Working Committee, it was decided, were to prepare the work of the Committee by classifying, co-ordinating and preparing working drafts based on the proposed resolutions, fixing their order of priority for purposes of discussion and facilitating the work of the full Committee by initial discussion. A Drafting Committee was appointed from the membership of the Working Committee, consisting of the Chairman and a representative each of the Employers' and Workers' groups (Mr. Perera, Ceylon Employers' member, and Mr. Monk, Australian Workers' member), the Reporter, and a French-speaking member of the Committee (Mr. Augendre, French Government member) to deal with the French texts.

The proposed resolutions were discussed as reported by the Working Committee.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS

I. Proposed resolution concerning employment, recruitment and training.²

During the discussion of the resolution, section A on employment service, various Workers' members pointed out certain abuses of the employment exchanges, stressing fear of their use on occasions for providing strikebreakers to employers. Both Employers' and Workers' members emphasised that the employment services must be developed properly. An amendment was submitted by the Australian Workers' member, to delete from paragraph 1 in reference to the employment services the words " the utility of which is being increasingly recognised and appreciated by all parties ". An additional amendment, submitted by the Ceylon Employers' member, suggested the addition of the word " proper " before the word " development " in the first line. An amendment was also submitted by Mr. Erulkar, Representative of the Employers' group of the Governing Body, to the text of paragraph 2 to read as follows :

The Conference requests the Governing Body to stress to the Governments of Asian countries the need for the proper and healthy development of employment services and to instruct the Office to make available to such Governments detailed reports and data on the working of employment services in advanced countries.

¹ For the text of these resolutions, see above, under (2).

² The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 5-8 (see above, pp. 226-228) ; for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (II)*, p. 277.

These amendments were all incorporated in a new draft prepared by the Working Committee.

With additional minor changes in wording, the section on employment services of the resolution was adopted as reported by the Working Committee.

The Committee then proceeded to discuss the section on recruitment. In the course of discussion concerning the elimination of labour-contracting agencies, which in certain countries frequently recruit workers for the employers, with a consequent difficulty of deciding which party should be responsible for the payment of wages or for establishing acceptable conditions of work, there was general agreement that this form of irresponsible recruitment should be eliminated. The Ceylon Employers' member maintained, however, that the elimination of work performed on contract, customary on many plantations, was not desirable. Amendments were accordingly adopted to the resolution, which inserted in subparagraph 6 (a) the word "real" before the word "employer", followed by the words "as defined by national laws and regulations", the purpose of the amendment being to make clear the necessity for national laws or regulations to define the actual employer where any form of contract was utilised, in order that he might be held responsible. An additional amendment, proposed by the Indian Workers' member, to provide for a seven-year limit to the period within which labour contracting should be eliminated was withdrawn as being without effect in a resolution of this nature.

In addition, subparagraph 6 (b) was amended to read as follows :

- (b) to ensure where the absence of suitable employment organisations administered by public authorities makes necessary the employment of recruiting agents, that regulations be framed and enforced to secure that workers before leaving their homes clearly understand the terms and conditions of service, to prevent workers from being placed under any personal obligations to the recruiting agent or other intermediary, and to provide where necessary for the repatriation of workers without cost to themselves.

The section on recruitment was then adopted as amended.

Section C on vocational and technical training was adopted as submitted by the Working Committee with minor amendments as to wording. Section D on training of Asian workers in advanced industrial countries was adopted, but with incorporation of a suggestion made by the representative of the United Nations, extending the scope of the resolution to include the training of professional and technical personnel in addition to the training of skilled workers. A suggestion that reference should be made to co-operation with United Nations organisations and other specialised agencies was omitted in view of the agreements between the International Labour Organisation and the other international agencies being adopted, which were thought to render the specific references in this resolution unnecessary and inappropriate. The resolution as a whole was adopted.

2. *Proposed resolution concerning wage policy and family budget enquiries.*¹

In the course of the discussion on wage policy, the Indian Workers' member proposed the addition to the first paragraph of the words "with

¹ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 10 and 12 (see above, pp. 228 and 229) ; for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (12)*, p. 279.

the ultimate aim of securing at least a living wage to every worker". The amendment was adopted in principle. The Singapore Government member proposed the deletion of the last three lines of paragraph 3 reading "so that workers may not suffer deterioration of real wages owing to increases in the cost of living" on the ground that no Government should be expected to be partial to any section of the community. The amendment was opposed by the Workers' members and favoured by the Employers' members; it was adopted by a vote of 15 to 11.

At the end of paragraph 6, concerning study of family budgets, the Indian Workers' member proposed the addition of the words "and representatives of the workers' organisations" to "nutrition experts". At the suggestion from the Employers' group that representatives from the employers' organisations be likewise included, the paragraph was amended to associate representatives of workers' and employers' organisations with the experts engaged in analysing family budgets.

The proposed resolution on wage policy and family budget enquiries was accordingly adopted with only minor amendments to alter wording.

3. *Proposed resolution concerning housing.*¹

In the course of the discussion of the resolution on housing, it was pointed out by the Singapore Government member that the scope of the resolution was so broad that "systematic, comprehensive and comparative study" would constitute a colossal task for the International Labour Office. This was answered by other Government group members, who said that the task of studying the problem should belong properly to the respective Governments with the assistance of the International Labour Office, which might make available information regarding experience in other countries. With minor amendments in the interest of clarification in wording, the resolution on housing was accordingly adopted.

4. *Proposed resolution concerning conditions of work and labour welfare.*²

The resolution was adopted as reported by the Working Committee, with minor amendments to add the word "immediate" in paragraph 3 to the phrase "to take appropriate measures".

5. *Proposed resolution concerning rural labour and related problems.*³

The resolution was adopted as reported by the Working Committee, with minor amendments to alter wording. On the proposal of the Indian Workers' member, the word "immediate" was added in paragraph 4 concerning forced labour, to the phrase "to call the attention of Governments of Asian countries to the necessity of taking effective steps". The proposed resolution on land tenure and land relationship, as referred by the Selection Committee for incorporation in this resolution, was accepted by the Committee.

¹ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 13 and 18 (see above, pp. 229 and 232); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (19)*, p. 290.

² The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 11 and 20 (see above, pp. 229 and 233); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (13)*, p. 280.

³ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 14, 16, 39 and 44 (see above, pp. 230, 231 and 242); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (16)* p. 287.

6. *Proposed resolution concerning plantation labour.*¹

With minor amendments to alter wording, the resolution was adopted as reported by the Working Committee.

7. *Proposed resolution concerning small-scale cottage and handicrafts industries.*²

With a single alteration to change the wording in paragraph 1, the resolution was adopted as reported by the Working Committee. The Workers' group wished it to be understood, however, that for the purpose of expediting the Committee proceedings they refrained from raising objection to a number of points in this resolution, which they reserved the right to bring forward for discussion in succeeding conferences.

8. *Proposed resolution concerning co-operation.*³

The resolution as reported by the Working Committee was adopted with minor changes in wording. An amendment proposed by the Singapore Government member, being referred to the Selection Committee and reported back favourably, was added to the resolution as follows :

The Conference invites the Governing Body to draw the attention of Governments to the importance attached by the present Conference to the inclusion in delegations to future conferences of persons having experience of co-operative movements.

9. *Proposed resolution concerning aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes.*⁴

The resolution as reported by the Working Committee was adopted without amendment.

10. *Proposed resolution concerning the employment of women and protection of maternity.*⁵

The resolution was reported by the Working Committee with the deletion of sections relating to maternity benefits and to medical care inasmuch as these matters were being discussed by the Committee on Social Security. In the section on "equal pay" an amendment was proposed by the United Kingdom Government member, that in paragraph 15 the word "pay" be changed to "remuneration", and that the principle of

¹ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 3 and 15 (see above, pp. 226 and 230); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (17)*, p. 289.

² The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 4 and 48 (see above, pp. 226 and 243); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (20)*, p. 290.

³ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 2 and 19 (see above, pp. 225 and 232); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (21)*, p. 291.

⁴ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolution No. 17 (see above, p. 231); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (18)*, p. 289.

⁵ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolutions Nos. 9 and 22 (see above, pp. 228 and 239); for the text as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (15)*, p. 285.

"equal remuneration for work of equal value" be recognised as stated in the Constitution on the International Labour Organisation; without specific reference to the application of the principle. The proposed amendment was defeated at the instance of the Workers' group supported by the Employers' group on the basis that the statement of the principle should lead to a statement of application. With minor changes, therefore, the resolution was adopted as reported by the Working Committee.

II. Proposed resolution concerning the protection of children and young workers.¹

The resolution was adopted as reported by the Working Committee, with minor modifications. In paragraph 7, with reference to provision of meals to school children the word "milk" was added to the words "low-cost meals". In paragraph 13 the words "as far as practicable" were added before the phrase "should be uniformly fixed". In paragraph 11 the word "large" in reference to undertakings was deleted. In paragraph 21 the phrase "assuring the maintenance of children" was altered to read more specifically, to "providing children's allowances".

The question was raised as to the inclusion in the resolution of regulations concerning admission to employment in industry, but in view of the discussions on this subject being carried on in the Committee on Programme of Action, it was thought that such inclusion was unnecessary.

The Committee completed its work with the adoption of the resolution on the protection of children and young workers. The resolutions as adopted are annexed to the report in revised order.

5 November 1947.

(Signed) G. L. NANDA.
Chairman.
H. W. HAH,
Reporter.

**Proposed Resolutions Submitted to the Conference by the Committee
on Labour Policy**

1. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING EMPLOYMENT SERVICE,
RECRUITMENT AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
2. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING WAGE POLICY AND FAMILY
BUDGET ENQUIRIES
3. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING CONDITIONS OF WORK
AND LABOUR WELFARE
4. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN
AND YOUNG WORKERS
5. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN
AND THE PROTECTION OF MATERNITY

¹ The text of this proposed resolution was drafted on the basis of proposed resolution No. 21 (see above, p. 234) : for the text as drafted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII (14)*, p. 280.

6. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING RURAL LABOUR
AND RELATED PROBLEMS
7. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING PLANTATION LABOUR
8. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING ABORIGINAL TRIBES
AND UNTOUCHABLE CASTES
9. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING HOUSING
10. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING SMALL-SCALE COTTAGE
AND HANDICRAFT INDUSTRIES
11. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING CO-OPERATION

These resolutions were adopted by the Conference at its Thirteenth Sitting, on 7 November 1947, without amendment. For the text of the resolutions, see Appendix VII (11)-(21), pp. 277-293.

APPENDIX V

Third item on the agenda: Programme of action for the enforcement of social standards embodied in Conventions and Recommendations not yet ratified or accepted

- (1) Report prepared by the International Labour Office.¹
- (2) Text of resolutions submitted in accordance with Article 10 of the Standing Orders and assigned to the Committee on Programme of Action for consideration.²

23. *Proposed resolution concerning statistics, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

Whereas the proper organisation, collection, analysis and interpretation of statistical data are essential in the pursuit of progressive social and labour policies ;

Whereas, for the co-ordination of such statistics either on a regional or on an international basis, they must be collected and interpreted in accordance with common standards ;

Whereas the organisation of labour statistics is still in its early stages and requires to be developed, as far as practicable, along well-defined and internationally accepted lines ;

Whereas the statistical techniques to be used depend largely on the stage of social and economic evolution of the countries concerned and suitable methods have to be devised to meet the requirements of Asian countries which are more or less similar ; and

Whereas the conditions in Asian countries are more or less similar and a regional approach to the statistical problem is likely to lead to fruitful results ;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to arrange, in consultation with the countries represented at the Conference, for an early meeting of labour statisticians from Asian countries together with such others as the Governing Body may invite, to survey the existing organisation for the collection, analysis, interpretation and dissemination of statistical data relating to labour conditions and policy in Asian countries and to submit recommendations on the following points among others :

¹ Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, New Delhi, 1947, Report III : *Programme of Action for the Enforcement of Social Standards Embodied in Conventions Not Yet Ratified or Accepted* (New Delhi, I.L.O., 1947).

² Cf. *Appendix II (3) and (4)*, second and third reports of the Selection Committee, pp. 195 and 197.

- (a) the extent to which the decennial census could be utilised for the collection of data regarding labour conditions ;
 - (b) the need for evolving, for the 1951 census, a system of comparable standard occupational classifications which can be integrated with international classifications ;
 - (c) the scope, method and programme of statistical enquiries regarding the earnings, conditions of work and cost of living of agricultural and industrial workers ;
 - (d) the technique to be adopted for collecting employment data in such wide fields as agriculture, unorganised industries, the distributive trades, etc., for which returns by individual undertakings may not be suitable ;
 - (e) the possibility of evolving a manpower survey of the type conducted in the United States of America, with such adaptations as may be necessary to suit the conditions in Asian countries ;
 - (f) a programme of action for enabling Asian countries to ratify the international labour Convention (No. 63), concerning statistics of wages and hours of work, 1938, in part or as a whole within a prescribed period ;
 - (g) the extent to which legislation for collecting labour statistics should be enacted ; and
 - (h) the measures to be adopted for the training of statistical staff for field investigations, and the compilation and interpretation of labour statistics.
24. *Proposed resolution regarding a periodical review of the action taken and the formulation of a programme for the implementation of the International Labour Code during the next five years, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.*

The Conference requests the Governing Body to instruct the Office to make a detailed study of the measures, legislative as well as administrative, taken by the countries of Asia for implementing the International Labour Code, how they are applied, what special problems they have given rise to and how these have been solved or it is proposed to solve them, the extent of their application, the number of workers affected or benefited by the measures, etc., and to submit one or more reports for the consideration of the next regional conference at its next and subsequent sessions, so that its members may be fully informed of what is being done in other countries and may have an opportunity of comparing the progress achieved and of considering the possibility of introducing in their own countries measures which have been tried and found successful elsewhere or profit by the experience of other countries.

The Conference further requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to communicate with the Governments of Asian countries with a view to eliciting information on their respective proposals for action during the next five years in respect of unratified Conventions and Recommendations not yet implemented, and to submit a report for the consideration of the next regional conference, analysing and commenting on the replies received, so as to enable the countries represented in the Conference to draw up in mutual consultation an agreed plan of action for the implementation of the International Labour Code in Asian countries.

25. *Proposed resolution regarding the appointment of a committee for the formulation of an immediate programme, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Considering the necessity for facilitating the work of the first regular session of the Asian Regional Conference to be held in China in 1948 ; and

Considering further the necessity for drawing up a comprehensive plan of a progressive labour policy for each Asian country in the light of conditions obtaining in that country and with particular reference to the international labour Conventions and Recommendations which yet remain unratified and unaccepted ;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to appoint, as early as possible, a committee consisting of an equal number of members representing Government, employers' and workers' groups, and to entrust the committee with the task of preparing such national plans and presenting its report in time to be placed before the regional conference scheduled to be held in China in 1948.

26. *Proposed resolution concerning the organisation of labour inspection, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China.*

Whereas one of the main tasks of the International Labour Organisation is the raising of world labour standards through the adoption of Conventions, Recommendations and Resolutions by the International Labour Conference ;

Whereas the international labour Conventions, Recommendations and Resolutions would not be able to serve the object of raising labour standards unless the Member States of the Organisation ratified them and integrated them in their national systems of labour legislation and administration ;

Whereas the organisation of labour inspection is prerequisite for every Member State of the Organisation if the Conventions are to be applied without let or hindrance ; and

Whereas the 30th Session of the International Labour Conference, held in Geneva in June 1947, adopted a Convention on the organisation of labour inspection ;

The Conference recommends that--

- (1) the question of labour inspection is worth close examination by Asian countries ;
- (2) a request be made by the International Labour Organisation to the Governing Body that " the organisation of labour inspection " be put on the agenda of the first session of the Asian regional conference.

27. *Proposed resolution on factory inspection, submitted by the Ceylon Government delegates.*

In the successful application of the legislative measures which have been adopted by the various Asian countries to secure proper working and living conditions for workers in general, and for those working in factories in particular, it is essential that a proper system of factory inspection should be organised.

It is the considered view of the Government of Ceylon that the first step towards securing an efficient labour inspection service for the proper enforcement of labour legislation in Asian countries would be the summoning of a conference of factory inspectors in the Far Eastern region to study the special problems relating to both agricultural and industrial working conditions.

The Government of Ceylon will welcome the holding of the conference in Ceylon as early as possible and will be glad to afford all necessary facilities for the purpose.

The conference, which may be confined to technical personnel qualified to deal with such questions, may consider the formation of uniform principles for adoption by Asian Countries in dealing with the following problems :

- (a) the adoption of suitable schemes for the recruitment and training of factory inspectors with a view to securing uniformly high standards of inspection ;
- (b) the standardisation of the collection and publication of information obtained by factory inspectors in the various countries ;
- (c) the holding of regional conferences similar to those held by the American States Members of the International Labour Organisation and the West Indies Labour Conference ;
- (d) the employment of women in labour inspection services to ensure that the laws protecting women and children are satisfactorily enforced ;
- (e) the formulation of plans for securing the efficient co-operation of employers' and workers' organisations in the enforcement of measures intended to ameliorate working and living conditions ;
- (f) the consideration of special measures designed to assist the organisation of labour inspection on efficient lines for economically under-developed countries where it is not feasible at present to have separate staffs for dealing with the enforcement of labour measures on the one hand and the handling of industrial relations on the other.

28. Proposed resolution regarding hours of work, submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

The Conference notes with great satisfaction that the 48-hour week is now more or less the rule in many occupations in many of the Asian countries.

The Conference requests the Governments of Asian countries to continue efforts to extend and enforce the principle of the 48-hour week over as wide an area as possible, to permit exemptions by the competent authority only in times of national emergency or of acute or widespread shortages of essential commodities, and to ensure consultations with employers' and workers' organisations before granting exemptions of a general character.

The Conference requests the Governing Body to ask the Office to submit regular reports to the Asian regional conferences on the steps taken in the Asian countries concerned to extend the 48-hour week, specifying such particulars as the types of undertakings to which the regulations are made applicable, the number of workers covered and the

extent to which and the circumstances in which relaxations are allowed, so that the members may be fully informed of what is being done in other countries and the Conference may be able to review regularly the progress achieved in respect of this important question.

The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider, in consultation with the Governments concerned, the desirability of substituting appropriate arrangements, conforming to current practice, for Articles 10 and 11 of the Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, 1919.

49. *Proposed resolution on labour policy in general, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India.*

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

Considering the desirability of the speedy ratification of the international labour Conventions and the acceptance of international labour Recommendations by the countries represented at this Conference ;

Considering that a large number of Conventions and Recommendations have yet remained unratified or unaccepted by the Governments of the countries represented at this Conference ;

Recommends to the Governments concerned that every effort should be made by them to ratify the Conventions and Recommendations within a reasonable specified period of time, as a first step in raising the standards of living in the Asian region and bringing them into line with those obtaining in the progressive countries of the world.

Further, this Conference recommends that the Governments concerned should also take proper steps to see that the countries in the Asian region do not lag behind the progressive countries of the world in the matter of evolving and enforcing a really progressive labour policy.

(3) Report of the Committee on Programme of Action.¹

1. The Conference set up a Committee of 35 members (15 Government, 10 Employers' and 10 Workers'), the Riddell-Tzaut system being applied in order to equalise the voting power of the groups, to consider and report on item III of the agenda of the Conference, entitled : " Programme of action for the enforcement of social standards embodied in Conventions and Recommendations not yet ratified or accepted ". There were also 8 substitute members (2 Employers' and 6 Workers').

2. The Committee elected as its *Chairman*, Mr. Taylor, New Zealand Government member, and as its *Vice-Chairmen*, Mr. Wu, Chinese Employers' member, and Mr. Bose, Indian Workers' member. Mr. Djang, Chinese Government member, was appointed as *Reporter*.

The Representative of the Secretary-General was Mr. Kuriyan.

3. The Committee held nine sittings.

4. The Committee took as the basis of its deliberations the report prepared by the International Labour Office on item III of its agenda (Report III, " Programme of Action for the Enforcement of Social Standards

¹ See *Second Part : Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sittings*, pp. 141 and 153.

Embodied in Conventions and Recommendations Not Yet Ratified or Accepted"). The Committee had also referred to it the following 7 proposed Resolutions¹:

- (a) proposed resolution (No. 23) regarding hours of work, submitted by the Indian Government delegates ;
- (b) proposed resolution (No. 24) regarding periodic review of the action taken, submitted by the Indian Government delegates ;
- (c) proposed resolution (No. 25) regarding the appointment of a committee for the formulation of an immediate programme, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India ;
- (d) proposed resolution (No. 26) concerning the organisation of labour inspection, submitted by Mr. Pao, Government delegate, China ;
- (e) proposed resolution (No. 27) on factory inspection, submitted by the Ceylon Government delegates ;
- (f) proposed resolution (No. 49) on labour policy in general, submitted by Mr. Khedgikar, Workers' delegate, India ;
- (g) proposed resolution (No. 23) regarding statistics submitted by the Indian Government delegates.

5. The Committee appointed a Working Party consisting of Mr. Bingham (Government member, Singapore), Mr. Wu (Employers' member, China) and Mr. Phadke (Workers' member, India), together with the Chairman and the Reporter acting in an *ex-officio* capacity, to examine the proposed resolutions listed above and to submit co-ordinated texts, taking into account points raised during the discussions in the Committee as well as matters arising out of Report III (Programme of Action).

6. The Committee interpreted its task to be as follows :

- (1) to verify and correct, where necessary, the factual data about national legislation contained in Report III ;
- (2) to ascertain, as far as possible, the difficulties encountered so far in the various countries of the Asian region in connection with the ratification of Conventions and the acceptance of Recommendations ;
- (3) to receive from national delegations indications with regard to programmes of action in the immediate future for the implementation of the International Labour Code ;
- (4) to suggest for the consideration of the Governing Body and future international and regional conferences lines along which the International Labour Code itself should be adapted to meet the special requirements of Asian countries.

7. The Committee decided to hold a general discussion in the first place and then to formulate its conclusions in the form of a limited number of proposed resolutions for adoption by the Conference.

8. The Committee heard with interest statements made by the national delegations of China, India, Burma, France, Pakistan, Ceylon, the Malayan Union and Cambodia, explaining the results achieved and the difficulties experienced in their respective countries as well as their plans and aspirations for the future.

¹ For the text of these resolutions, see above, under (2).

9. The Committee was impressed by the unanimity with which the delegations from various Asian countries called attention to the predominantly agricultural character of their national economies. The Committee, therefore, decided to draw the attention of the Governing Body to the fundamental importance of bearing in mind the problems of agriculture in the countries of Asia in framing Conventions and Recommendations.

10. As regards the detailed conclusions reached by the Committee, it was not considered necessary to discuss them at length in the present report, in view of the decision of the Committee to embody those conclusions in proposed resolutions for adoption by the Conference. Suffice it to say that it was the emphatic opinion of the Committee that freedom of association and the protection of the right to bargain collectively both for employers and workers, on the one hand, and the establishment of adequate systems of labour inspection, on the other, are the twin foundations upon which any scheme of effective protection for the workers must rest. It is accordingly suggested that labour inspection should be a separate item on the agenda of the Regional Asian Labour Conference to be held in China in 1949 and that the Governing Body should consider the desirability of convening a conference of representatives of labour inspection services in the Asian region at as early a date as possible. The Committee also recognised that it was ultimately for the Governments of Asian countries to draw up programmes of action for the progressive implementation of the International Labour Code, but the Committee considered it necessary to draw up a priority list of subjects and a list of Conventions and Recommendations to which the Governments concerned should devote attention in the first instance. Another matter of importance to which the Committee decided to call special attention was the extension of the coverage of existing labour legislation in the region in order to widen its scope to include workers and workplaces now outside its scope. Such extension can, in many cases, bring about results as far-reaching and beneficial as the enactment of entirely fresh legislation.

11. The Committee recognised the important role that the International Labour Office can play by providing to Asian countries assistance not only in drawing up a programme of action, but in providing expert advice in the preparation of legislation and the development of administrative machinery for the execution of such programmes. The Committee also decided to recommend to the Conference the adoption of a proposed resolution submitted by the Indian Government delegates to summon a conference of labour statisticians in the Asian region. In this connection the Employers' representatives on the Committee stressed the importance of not placing an unreasonable burden upon employers in connection with the provision of statistics and asked that the Conference should take this into account in its deliberations. The Committee noted the Employers' statement but did not share their fears that unreasonable demands would be made. The importance of such a statistical conference for the development of labour legislation is obvious.

12. The texts of the resolutions proposed by the Committee are reproduced in two appendices to this report.¹

¹ Not included here. For the text of the resolutions as adopted by the Conference, see *Appendix VII* (22) and (23), pp. 293 and 297.

13. The Committee wished to place on record its warm appreciation of the excellent work carried out by the Working Party in preparing co-ordinated texts to serve as the basis of its own deliberations. Without such texts it would have been impossible for the Committee to complete its work in the short time available. The Committee also wished to address its thanks to the International Labour Office for the invaluable work which it had carried out in preparation for the Committee's work and for the great assistance which it received from the representative of the Secretary-General and his staff during its deliberations.

(Signed) E. B. TAYLOR,
Chairman.

T. K. DJANG,
Reporter.

New Delhi, 6 November 1947.

Proposed Resolutions Submitted to the Conference by the Committee on Programme of Action

1. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING PROGRAMMES OF ACTION

This resolution was adopted by the Conference at its Fourteenth Sitting, on 8 November 1947, with an amendment to paragraph 10. For the final amended text as adopted, see Appendix VII (22), p. 293.

The original text of amended paragraph 10, as submitted by the Committee, was as follows:

10. In securing the progressive implementation, by means of such national programmes of action, of the standards laid down in the international labour Conventions and Recommendations, special attention should be directed by all Asian countries to the provisions of the following Conventions and Recommendations:

- (1) *Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937.*
- (2) *Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers) Convention, 1921.*
- (3) *Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936.*
- (4) *Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946.*
- (5) *Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea) Convention, 1921.*
- (6) *Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939.*
- (7) *Night work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1919, or any Convention revising the 1919 Convention which may be adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 31st Session.*
- (8) *Maternity Protection Convention, 1919.*
- (9) *Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1934, or any Convention revising the 1934 Convention which may be adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 31st Session.*
- (10) *Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935.*
- (11) *Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Convention, 1925.*
- (12) *Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925.*

- (13) *Marking of Weights (Packages Transported by Vessels), Convention, 1929.*
- (14) *Protection Against Accidents (Dockers) Convention (Revised), 1932.*
- (15) *Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921.*
- (16) *Minimum-Wage Fixing Machinery Convention, 1928.*

As regards the Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, 1919, the Conference requests the Governing Body to consider, in consultation with the Governments concerned, the desirability of substituting appropriate provisions, conforming to current practice, for Articles 10 and 11 of the Convention, when considering the next ten-yearly report on its working.¹

2. PROPOSED RESOLUTION CONCERNING STATISTICS

This resolution was adopted by the Conference at its Fourteenth Sitting, on 8 November 1947, without amendment.

For the text of the resolution, see Appendix VII (23), p. 297.

¹ The passage printed in italics was amended (see *Proceedings : Fourteenth Sitting*, p. 156).

APPENDIX VI

Communication to the Conference

Memorandum presented by the representatives of the United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS
AND THE
PREPARATORY ASIAN REGIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

Several organs of the United Nations have a deep interest in the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation. Both the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council have, under the Charter, and by instruction from the General Assembly, concern for non-self-governing territories and for economically undeveloped areas. As their programmes develop their work will be connected with the economic and social issues of the countries represented at this Conference. The United Nations representatives wish to avail themselves of this opportunity to convey to the representatives from Asian countries the views of certain United Nations organs in respect of some of the issues which are before it.

Economic affairs.

Both the Department of Economic Affairs and the Department of Social Affairs within the Economic and Social Council have indicated their interest in the subjects under discussion. Two of the Commissions of the Department of Economic Affairs are especially concerned—the Division of Economic Stability and Development, and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. At the forthcoming session, in November, of the Sub-Commission on Economic Development (of the Commission on Economic Stability and Development), attention will be directed to a range of questions which lie at the heart of discussions in this Conference. They will include problems which Members of the United Nations face in their efforts to achieve economic development, the factors impeding the progress of development programmes and the action designed by countries to overcome these. Country by country, the Commission hopes to study, from material supplied by Governments, the organisations within them responsible for national economic development, the statutes under which they operate, the degree of responsibility they have, the authority they exercise, budgets for investment purposes and like matters. The Commission has already asked Governments for information on all recent development programmes commenced or in prospect, the nature and purpose of the programmes, methods of financing, plans for repayment and how far these can be carried on by domestic resources and the

extent to which external sources of finance will be needed. Governments have been asked also to state the obstacles which availability of material, technical skills, financial means and labour supply offer to progress in their development plans. The Commission has indicated its interest also in countries other than metropolitan.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East is a regional organ of the Economic and Social Council. Its present membership includes four countries in Asia which are Members of the United Nations : China, India, the Philippines and Siam, together with the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., France and the Netherlands Indies. Provision has been made for associate membership for countries within the geographical scope of the Commission which are not responsible for their foreign relations. At its first meeting in June 1947, in Shanghai, the Commission instructed the Secretariat to study the reconstruction needs of countries within the region and to suggest measures which might be taken to facilitate the training of technical and administrative personnel in the economic field and the use of expert assistance by Governments. The next meeting of the Commission will take place in the Philippines on 24 November. Its deliberations and determinations should be of interest to delegations at the Conference of the International Labour Organisation. In time it is possible that committees will be set up to concern themselves with industry and raw materials, with power and fuel, with food, seeds and fertilisers, with coastal and inland transport, and with technical training questions. It is hoped that specialised agencies with interests along these lines will, if the Commission so requests, associate themselves with these committees as they are established. The Commission has the right to communicate directly with any of its Members and Associate Members. There is thus coming into the region with which the I.L.O. Conference is concerned a body which may well influence the course of economic development.

Social affairs.

The Department of Social Affairs has interest in the raising of the standard of living in countries of Asia as a precedent to the betterment of social conditions. The Department has, in fact, specific instructions to concern itself with undeveloped areas, both by resolutions of the Fourth Session of the Economic and Social Council and of the Second Session of its Social Affairs Commission. Evidence of the interest of the Commission in the social affairs of Asia is shown by the presence recently of its Director at the Social Welfare Conference held in Singapore under the office of the United Kingdom High Commissioner for South-East Asia.

Non-self-governing territories.

Under the Trusteeship Council the Division of Non-Self-Governing Territories has also interest in the work of the New Delhi Conference. It notes with satisfaction that representatives of non-self-governing territories in Asia are attending the Conference. Members administering such territories have obligations under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations to promote the welfare of the peoples of these territories and to submit information on the economic, social and educational conditions within them. In this way, the international character of the colonial problem is emphasised. The non-self-governing territories are both

a special concern and come within the general measures which the Economic and Social Council may suggest for economic and social advance. The Annual Report of the Secretary-General to the Second Regular Session of the General Assembly makes this point well in the following words :

The authority of the Economic and Social Council to make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, education, health and related matters and to make recommendations with respect to such matters in no way excludes conditions in non-self-governing territories... The fact that the principles governing these territories are treated in Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations in no way indicates a segregation of non-self-governing peoples on international programmes of co-operation as provided for elsewhere in the Charter.

The organs of the United Nations, as the specialised agencies, can perform their functions only as there is adequate information at their disposal from the countries concerned. There has been some fear of overlapping and steps are now being taken to try to obviate imposing an undue burden on the Governments in the supply of material which all these organs need. Though for non-self-governing territories official information will reach the United Nations through metropolitan Governments, it would be appreciated if all pertinent local information could be placed at their disposal.

APPENDIX VII

Resolutions adopted by the Conference

(1) Resolution concerning the intensification of the Asian work of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Selection Committee.¹

Whereas, to enable the International Labour Organisation to fulfil its mission of promoting social justice, eliminating poverty, and assisting the economic and social development of the less developed countries of the world, it is of paramount importance that a systematic consideration should be given to the special problems of the Asian countries with due regard to their present stage of economic development and their human and material resources ; and

Whereas, in order to permit of such consideration, it is desirable to secure fuller participation of the Asian countries, on a tripartite basis, in the work and the deliberations of the Organisation, and to make provision within the general framework of the Organisation for a vigorous programme of regional action in Asia ;

The Conference adopts this fifth day of November 1947 the following resolution concerning the intensification of the Asian work of the International Labour Organisation :

I

The Conference requests the Governing Body—

(a) to convene an Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation to meet in China in 1949 to review the progress made in giving effect to the recommendations of the present Conference and examine such further questions as may be placed on its agenda by the Governing Body in the light of the recommendations of the present Conference, and to arrange for further regional conferences to meet at appropriate intervals ;

(b) to authorise the Director-General of the International Labour Office to arrange, as part of the preparations for the 1949 Regional Conference, for a mission of the International Labour Office, analogous to that which revised, in consultation with the Governments concerned, the reports submitted to the present Conference, to visit the Asian countries at the earliest practicable date ;

(c) to arrange as appropriate a series of meetings of technical experts from the Asian countries to facilitate co-operation between the Asian

¹ See *Second Part : Ninth Sitting* p. 82 ; and *Third Part : Appendix II (4)*.

countries in regard to social problems and to assist in preparing the work of future Asian conferences ;

(d) to arrange for meetings of the International Labour Conference, the Governing Body, the Permanent Agricultural Committee, the Joint Maritime Commission and appropriate industrial committees to be held from time to time in Asian countries ;

(e) to give adequate representation to Asia in the membership of the technical committees of the Organisation ;

(f) to authorise the Director-General to reinforce the research staffs of the Chinese and Indian branches of the International Labour Office and to establish progressively a network of branch offices and correspondents in other Asian countries, including Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Pakistan, the Philippines and Siam ;

(g) to provide for the extension and development of the facilities of the International Labour Organisation for according to Asian Governments at their request appropriate assistance in connection with the framing of regulations, the improvement of administrative practices and systems of inspection and the development of information and research services ;

(h) to arrange for the immediate publication of the decisions of the present Conference in appropriate Asian languages and to resume and extend the publication in Asian languages of selected publications of the International Labour Office ;

(i) to draw the attention of the Director-General to the importance attached by Asian countries to the recruitment of an adequate number of nationals of Asian countries having adequate experience of the social and economic problems of Asia ;

(j) to consider the advisability of—

- (i) constituting an Asian advisory committee to advise the Governing Body on Asian questions and the Asian aspects of general questions ;
- (ii) authorising the Director-General to establish a small co-ordinating secretariat to facilitate the implementation of the above programme.

II

The Conference—

(a) welcomes the acceptance of membership in the International Labour Organisation by Pakistan and the news that arrangements are being made for the acceptance of membership in the Organisation by the Philippine Republic ;

(b) takes note that Burma on becoming independent and Ceylon on attaining fully responsible self-government within the British Commonwealth will shortly be eligible for admission to the International Labour Organisation and may be expected to submit applications for membership to the Thirty-first Session of the International Labour Conference ;

(c) welcomes the attendance at the present Conference of an observer representing Nepal and places on record its hope that this participation may inaugurate a fruitful association between Nepal and the International Labour Organisation.

III

The Conference—

(a) welcomes the participation in the present Conference of tripartite delegations of non-metropolitan territories in the Asian region ;

(b) draws the special attention of the Governing Body to the urgent importance of continuing and developing the practice of providing for similar participation of these territories in the Asian work of the Organisation ;

(c) takes note that the Constitution of the Organisation, as amended by the 1946 Instrument of Amendment, makes provision for—

- (i) the participation in the International Labour Conference, as members of the delegations of Members of the Organisation, of representatives and advisers from non-metropolitan territories ;
- (ii) the acceptance on behalf of such territories of Conventions relating to matters within their self-governing powers ;

(d) requests the Governing Body to give early consideration to—

- (i) the feasibility and desirability of making provision for the participation of these territories in appropriate industrial committees including, in particular, the proposed industrial committee on plantation labour ;
- (ii) the appointment of experts from such territories in the expert committees of the Organisation.

The Conference welcomes the inclusion in the Indian delegation to the present Conference of representatives of a number of Indian States and trusts that the States will continue to be fully associated with India's participation in the Organisation and in the implementation of the decisions of the Organisation.

IV

The Conference emphasises the importance of the regular attendance at tripartite meetings of the Organisation of complete delegations from Asian countries, including Government, employers' and workers' representatives, and requests the Governing Body to consider how such regular attendance can best be facilitated.

(2) Resolution concerning labour standards in Japan, submitted by the Selection Committee.¹

As is pointed out by the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries ;

A general improvement in the labour standards of the Asian countries cannot be secured on a national basis unless the standards agreed upon are applicable to Japan ;

¹ See *Second Part: Ninth Sitting*, p. 86 ; and *Third Part: Appendix II (4)*.

The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to consider the advisability of—

- (a) communicating through the appropriate channel to the Japanese Government, and asking it to communicate to the employers' and workers' organisations in Japan, the decisions and documents of the present Conference; and of advising the Japanese Government through the appropriate channel to associate itself with the decisions of the Conference;
- (b) authorising the Director-General of the International Labour Office to discuss with the appropriate authorities the desirability of a fact-finding mission of the International Labour Office visiting Japan to collect adequate current information concerning labour conditions, manpower organisation, vocational training, industrial relations and social security Conventions in Japan for inclusion in their reports prepared for the Asian regional conference to be held in China;
- (c) arranging through the appropriate channel to secure regular annual reports on the application of the international labour Conventions which are binding on Japan by reason of ratification while Japan was a Member of the International Labour Organisation;
- (d) examining at an appropriate time the desirability of readmitting Japan to the International Labour Organisation.

(3) Resolution concerning tripartite organisation and other appropriate arrangements, submitted by the Selection Committee.¹

The Conference requests the Governing Body to communicate the following proposals to the Governments of countries represented at the Conference and to instruct the Office to make a study of the working of the tripartite organisation, or other appropriate arrangements, to secure co-operation between Governments and organisations of workers and employers, and submit a report for the information and consideration of the next regional conference.

1. The Governments should give consideration to the setting up in their countries of tripartite organisations, with committees to deal with special problems, consisting of representatives of Governments, employers and workers, or other appropriate arrangements—

- (a) to promote appropriate measures for—
 - (i) raising the standard of living of workers; providing them proper and fair conditions of life and work, social security, full opportunity for their economic and social welfare and social justice;
 - (ii) increasing production and output in industry;
- (b) to advise concerning measures necessary to implement decisions adopted by the International and regional Conferences, and such of the resolutions adopted by the industrial committees as are communicated to the Governments by the decisions of the Governing Body; and formulation of recommendations concerning such other questions as may fall within their competence or may be referred to them.

¹ See *Second Part: Ninth Sitting*, p. 87; and *Third Part: Appendix II (4)*.

2. Governments should consult their respective tripartite organisations or other machinery provided for in the preceding paragraph in the matter of labour and economic policy, including legislation and its enforcement.

3. Governments should take all possible steps to provide means and facilities for the full and efficient functioning of the tripartite organisations or other appropriate arrangements in their respective countries.

4. Governments should seek to promote close co-operation between the I.L.O. and their tripartite organisations or other arrangements by such means as may be found to be feasible and appropriate.

(4) Resolution concerning increased production, submitted by the Selection Committee.¹

Whereas most Asian countries are suffering from acute shortages of production which not only reduce employment opportunities, but result in a serious deterioration in the standards of living of the people ;

Whereas effective steps should be taken immediately to create conditions favourable to the promotion and maintenance of production at the highest possible level ;

This Conference recommends the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to call the attention of the Governments of the Asian States represented at this Conference to the following :

- (a) the urgent necessity for increasing production ;
- (b) the need for increasing productive efficiency to the maximum extent ;
- (c) the need for establishing, in consultation with organisations of employers and workers, suitable consultative negotiating or statutory bodies for the speedy and equitable resolution of differences between labour and management ; and
- (d) the need to secure the fullest co-operation of employers and workers in eliminating conditions of insecurity and dissatisfaction which affect production, and in discouraging conditions which lead to the stoppage or slowing down of production for any reason whatsoever.

(5) Resolution concerning seafarers, submitted by the Selection Committee. ²

The Conference attaches the highest importance to securing proper conditions of life and work for Asian seafarers, and therefore requests the Governing Body to direct the International Labour Office to complete as rapidly as possible the survey which is being made of the conditions of Asian seafarers and to convene at an early date in an Asian country, in accordance with the recognised procedure, a maritime meeting to consider these conditions.

¹ See *Second Part : Ninth Sitting*, p. 89 ; and *Third Part : Appendix II (4)*.

² See *Second Part : Ninth Sitting*, p. 91 ; and *Third Part : Appendix II (4)*.

(6) Resolution concerning the economic policies necessary for the attainment in Asia of the social objectives of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Selection Committee.¹

Whereas the Declaration of Philadelphia reaffirms that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere ; and

Whereas poverty is the basic factor retarding social progress in Asia and such progress cannot be achieved without the adoption of economic policies designed to secure greater productivity and a fairer distribution of wealth ; and

Whereas the Declaration of Philadelphia also affirms that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material wellbeing and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, and that the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy ; and enunciates the responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective ; and

Whereas it is therefore desirable that the representatives of Governments, employers and workers assembled at the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation should, in addition to making specific proposals concerning labour standards, the mobility and training of labour, industrial relations, social security and similar questions and framing a programme of action for the progressive application in Asia of the provisions of the International Labour Code, also formulate for consideration by the appropriate national and international authorities their views in regard to the economic policies necessary for the attainment in the Asian countries of the social objectives of the Organisation :

The Conference requests the Governing Body to bring the following provisional views to the attention of the Governments represented at the Conference, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the International Trade Organisation when established, and such other international bodies as may have primary responsibility for international action in respect of the various measures suggested ; and to arrange for such further studies of the problems of economic development as may be calculated to assist the Asian countries in implementing the objectives of the International Labour Organisation to be made by the International Labour Office or other appropriate international bodies, with a view to the matter being further considered at the next regional conference.

**I. PROVISION OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT FOR EXCESS
AGRICULTURAL POPULATION**

1. In most Asian countries there exists a great excess of agricultural population in relation to the available supply of cultivable land.

¹ See *Second Part : Thirteenth Sitting*, p. 144 ; and *Third Part : Appendix II (5)*.

2. This agricultural overpopulation, manifesting itself in the smallness of the average size of farm and in the insufficiency of income derived therefrom to provide an average rural family with a minimum subsistence level of living, is a key factor in the poverty of Asia.

3. Effective steps should therefore be taken to provide new opportunities of productive employment in manufacturing and service industries which will absorb excess agricultural population.

II. EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

4. Notwithstanding the primary importance of promoting intensive industrial development, agriculture will for a long time to come remain the chief source of income for the majority of the population of the Asian countries.

5. The expansion of agricultural as well as industrial production must therefore be regarded as a primary objective of the economic policy of the Asian countries.

6. With a view to expanding agricultural production, measures should be taken—

- (a) to bring into cultivation arable land hitherto unutilised ;
- (b) to increase yields per unit of land by the control of insects and diseases, the use of more and better manures and fertilisers, the improvement of seeds and the adoption of improved methods of cultivation ;
- (c) to increase agricultural output per worker by the improvement of agricultural implements and, wherever economically feasible, by the introduction of machinery ;
- (d) to establish agricultural implement stations operated, where necessary, by Governments for the purpose of lending such implements to agriculturists in need of them ;
- (e) to improve the organisation of farm enterprises by the consolidation of fragmentary holdings and the development of co-operative farms ;
- (f) to raise the productivity of animal husbandry and fisheries ;
- (g) to control by the enforcement of adequate laws or regulations the ownership and use of land to ensure that it is used in the best interest of the community.

7. Provision should be made for large-scale public investment in water and soil conservation schemes and irrigation and drainage works.

III. FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME

8. A fair distribution of agricultural income is of primary importance for the social and economic wellbeing of the agrarian population.

9. With a view to securing a fair distribution of agricultural income measures should be taken—

- (a) to prohibit usury and establish rural credit institutions to facilitate the provision to agriculturists of loans at low rates of interest ;

- (b) to reduce to a minimum the tax burden of low-income agriculturists ;
- (c) to fix agricultural rents at a reasonable level, afford greater security of land tenure, and, where appropriate, promote a more equitable distribution of land ownership ;
- (d) to improve the organisation of agricultural marketing and, more particularly, to encourage the development of co-operative marketing.

IV. FAIR TERMS OF EXCHANGE FOR EXPORT OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS

10. The economies of many Asian countries are built wholly or to a large extent from the export of primary products the prices of which are subject to wide fluctuations consequent upon cyclical and long-term changes in the world conditions of demand and supply and the maintenance of fair terms of exchange for such products is therefore of particular importance for the advance of the social standards and wellbeing of the peoples concerned.

11. In formulating economic policy for areas whose economy is at present based upon exports of primary products, special consideration should be given to—

- (a) the desirability and economic possibilities of diversification of crops and industries ;
- (b) the desirability of intergovernmental arrangements designed to promote greater stability of prices and to bring about prompt and orderly adjustments of international demand and supply of such products within the framework of an expansionist economy designed to increase production ; and
- (c) the possibility of adopting measures to reduce the gap between the prices of primary products and those of manufactured goods.

V. CAPITAL FORMATION

12. Capital formation on a large scale is of central importance as a means of raising productivity and national income in the Asian countries.

13. Policies of capital formation should be formulated in such a way as to avoid as far as possible the danger of inflation. Appropriate safeguards should be adopted to this end.

VI. INFLATION

14. The danger of inflation is accentuated at the present time by the disruption and dislocation of the economies of the Asian countries resulting from the war which have aggravated the shortages of essential goods and services and given rise in certain countries to inflation which, if not checked, will reduce still further the real wages and the standard of living of the peoples concerned. In these circumstances it is of special and urgent importance to take promptly appropriate and effective measures to accelerate production, prevent hoarding, speculative trading and black-marketing and to bring about a fair relationship between wages

and salaries and commodity prices. Governments should take necessary steps to check inflationary tendencies, and the representatives of employers and workers present at this Conference should bring to the attention of their constituents the importance of co-operating with and actively assisting Governments in the application of appropriate anti-inflationary policies.

VII. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

15. Appropriate measures should be taken to encourage private enterprise to play a constructive part in the industrial development of Asia ; these measures should include—

- (a) measures to improve the organisation of the capital and credit markets with a view to channelling monetary savings into the most productive fields of employment, and to reducing the rates of interest, long-term and short-term, to the lowest possible level ;
- (b) measures for the provision of adequate assistance, financial, technical and other, to newly established enterprises in need of such assistance ;
- (c) measures to secure wider knowledge of modern technology and scientific methods of business organisation and management, to train specialists in these fields and to promote organised industrial research ; and
- (d) measures to reduce the costs of capital equipment, transport and fuel needed for industrial production.

16. Public enterprise has an important part to play in initiating and promoting the industrial development of Asia and should be conducted in accordance with the following general principles :

- (a) public enterprises should be so organised as to ensure that they are efficiently managed without political interference with the conduct of their operations ;
- (b) the budgets of public enterprises should be treated separately from budgets for current governmental revenue and expenditure.

17. Every effort should be made, by such means as fiscal and credit policy and the direct control of investment, to direct private enterprise towards the industries the development of which will be most advantageous from the long-run economic point of view, having due regard to the country's legitimate requirements for national defence.

18. Effective measures should be taken to secure high standards of productive efficiency in existing industries, more particularly with regard to—

- (a) output per unit of labour, of capital, of fuel and of raw material ;
- (b) efficiency in the organisation of the industry, especially in respect of its size, financial position and structural balance ;
- (c) efficiency in marketing and distribution ; and
- (d) efficiency in labour-management co-operation.

19. Governments should ensure the maintenance of reasonable standards of industrial efficiency and should take prompt steps to facilitate the

reorganisation of an industry on a more efficient basis whenever changes in the conditions of demand and supply beyond the control of that industry make such reorganisation necessary.

20. In order to ensure that the fruits of industrial development are passed on to the mass of the population, measures should be taken to prevent the over-concentration of economic power and to restrict the growth in inequality of distribution of income and wealth.

21. In order that handicraft or cottage industry may play a more effective part in providing supplementary employment and income for the rural population in Asian countries, the development of large-scale industries should be supplemented by a parallel programme for the modernisation and reorganisation of traditional handicraft or cottage industries and the development of new simple industries with small capital investment in rural districts ; in framing such a programme, special attention should be given to—

- (a) the desirability of developing industrial co-operatives as a method of organising small-scale industries ;
- (b) the need for co-ordinating the development of large-scale and small-scale industries in such a manner as to make them complementary to each other ; and
- (c) the importance of the part which can be played by Governments in preparing, initiating and promoting such a programme of industrial development, particularly with respect to—
 - (i) the financing of individual projects ;
 - (ii) the training of a sufficient number of technical personnel ; and
 - (iii) the provision of capital equipment specially designed to meet the needs of small-scale industries.

22. In the early stages of industrial development, special attention should be devoted to the improvement of communications and the development of electric and hydraulic power.

23. Development works should be undertaken by the Governments with the object of creating productive employment for unemployed persons in cities as well as for the excess population in rural districts.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS

24. Measures to improve the health and education of the producing population should be regarded as an essential feature of all policies for the improvement of economic productivity by the development of natural resources, and Governments should take the necessary steps to ensure the provision of adequate medical and educational facilities in connection with all major development projects.

25. Appropriate international action should be taken to support the efforts of the Asian countries to obtain the equipment and financial and technical assistance necessary for developing their capacity for production and for ensuring employment at a high level and to secure the supplies of food and of essential consumers' goods which they need during the period of development.

26. The programmes of economic development undertaken by the Asian countries should, so far as practicable, be co-ordinated in such a way as to secure the maximum gains in international division of labour; with this end in view, each Asian country should keep the appropriate international organisations informed of its prospective development programmes.

27. Measures taken by the Asian countries to deal with post-war economic restoration should so far as possible be so framed as to contribute towards the economic development of Asia on a long-term basis.

(7) Resolution concerning industrial development in Japan, submitted by the Selection Committee.¹

The attainment of full employment and a high level of productivity in the Asian countries will be seriously prejudiced if their standards of living are imperilled by the need to compete with economic dumping.

The Conference expresses its emphatic disapproval of such dumping and requests the Governing Body to examine the question and, where necessary, to make any representations on the subject which may be desirable to the appropriate international agencies, and in particular to draw the attention of the authorities responsible for fixing the future level of industrial development in Japan to the dangers of dumping to the working and living conditions in other Asian countries.

(8) Resolution concerning representation of agricultural and cottage industry workers, submitted by the Selection Committee.²

Considering that the great majority of workers in Asian countries are agriculturists, that in addition there are large numbers of cottage industry workers, and that the problem of these classes will increasingly engage the attention of the Organisation ;

The Conference invites the Governing Body to consider, in consultation with the Governments of the countries represented at this Conference and employers' and workers' organisations, the question of more adequate representation at such conferences of persons engaged in agriculture and the cottage industry.

(9) Resolution concerning the placing of Conventions and Recommendations, of the International Labour Organisation before the national legislatures submitted by the Selection Committee.³

1. The prompt discharge of the obligation imposed on each Member of the International Labour Organisation by virtue of Article 19 of the Constitution of the Organisation to submit Conventions and Recom-

¹ See *Second Part: Thirteenth Sitting*, p. 144 ; and *Third Part: Appendix II (5)*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

recommendations to the competent authorities for consideration and appropriate action is of fundamental importance for the progressive application in Asian countries of the standards embodied in the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference ; Conventions and Recommendations should be submitted to the competent authorities in a manner which permits of adequate consideration of their provisions.

2. The Conference also suggests that it is desirable that the Governments of the non-metropolitan territories represented at the Conference should, as appropriate to their respective constitutional arrangements, submit to the competent authorities promptly and in a manner which permits of adequate consideration the Conventions and Recommendations dealing with matters within their self-governing powers which are brought to their notice in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 35 of the Constitution by the Member responsible for their international relations.

(10) Resolution concerning social security, submitted by the Committee on Social Security.¹

PART I

In view of the extreme poverty, the wide prevalence of disease and epidemics, the high incidence of infant and maternal mortality, the low expectation of life, and the misery and destitution caused by unemployment and underemployment among the working peoples of most Asian countries, the establishment of social security services, which are an essential condition of building up a genuine democratic society, has become an urgent task.

In order that all-round progress may be made in raising the general living standards of the people, and in order that the burden of social security schemes may be lightened, it is necessary that such schemes should be accompanied by measures providing for an adequate growth and supply of essential foodstuffs sufficient to meet the accepted standards of subsistence and nutrition, a living wage, decent housing and a healthy environment and free and compulsory education ; the Conference urges on the Governments of the Asian countries to take vigorously in hand schemes for the achievement of these objectives.

This Conference, while noting that proposals for social security schemes are in various stages of consideration in some of the Asian countries, is of the opinion that the progress of such schemes should be accelerated. The Conference recommends to the Governments that these and other schemes which may be organised should seek to cover risks such as sickness, maternity, invalidity, death of breadwinner, and employment injury and, in the case of industrial workers, old age and unemployment under certain conditions. The Conference holds that implementation of such schemes will be facilitated if the workers and employers co-operate wholeheartedly to increase and intensify production. Such schemes should be framed in the light of the suggestions set forth in the following paragraphs.

¹ See *Second Part : Tenth and Eleventh Sitzings*, pp. 96, 111 and 116 ; and *Third Part : Appendix III (2)*.

I. *Income Security*

A. *Social Insurance Planning.*

1. In the case of all labour that is regulated, income security should be afforded by means of social insurance, financed by contributions from workers, employers and Governments.

2. In the formulation of social insurance policy, consideration should be given to the following principles :

- (a) An integral and long-term plan of social insurance, to be fulfilled by stages, should be framed from the outset.
- (b) As a first stage, social insurance schemes in respect of employment injury, maternity and sickness should be applied in certain geographical areas or in respect of all regulated labour, as may be found possible.
- (c) In fixing the level of benefits the aim should be to afford at least a minimum of subsistence.
- (d) The provisions governing contribution and benefit rates and benefit rights should be framed in as simple a form as possible.
- (e) Provision should be made for merging the rates of employment injury benefits with those of the corresponding benefits of sickness insurance.
- (f) Wherever possible, contributions to, and the administration of, insurance schemes providing for sickness, maternity and employment injury benefits, which have, as a common factor, the provision of medical care, should be unified.

B. *Employment Injury Benefits.*

3. Consideration should be given to extending the scope of employment injury benefit legislation so as to cover as many categories of workers not yet covered (including categories of agricultural workers) as may be administratively feasible from time to time.

4. In order that the laws and regulations concerning employment injury benefits may conform as closely as conditions allow to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Code, consideration should be given, with due regard to paragraph 2 of this resolution, to the following principles :

- (a) The payment of benefits should, as a rule, be secured by means of a system of compulsory insurance administered by the State, or by a non-profit-making organisation.
- (b) The benefits should normally take the form of periodical payments ; a lump sum should be paid only if the competent authority is satisfied that it will be properly utilised.
- (c) Medical care should be provided on an adequate scale and should include in-patient hospital treatment wherever possible, in accordance with the recommendations of the Medical Care Subcommittee.¹

¹ See above, *Appendix III*, p. 216.

- (d) Specialised institutions should be established for the rehabilitation of injured workers.
- (e) There should be periodical medical inspection of workers engaged in occupations in which occupational diseases are common.

C. *Maternity Benefits.*

5. Consideration should be given to extending the scope of maternity benefit legislation so as to cover as many categories of women workers as may be administratively feasible from time to time.

6. In order that the laws and regulations concerning maternity benefits may conform as closely as conditions allow to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Code, consideration should be given, with due regard to paragraph 2 of this resolution, to the following principles:

- (a) Maternity benefits should be granted during maternity leave for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement.
- (b) The payment of maternity benefits should, as a rule, be secured by a system of compulsory insurance administered by the State or by a non-profit-making organisation.
- (c) Free medical care should be provided.

D. *Provision for the Aged and for Dependent Survivors.*

7. Having regard to the fact that in most Asian countries millions of people who are technically self-employed are working and living under conditions more or less similar to those of employed persons, consideration should be given to the provision of old-age and survivors' benefits for all who stand in need of such benefits, and not merely for employed persons and their survivors.

8. Such benefits should ultimately be provided in the form of old-age and survivors' pensions by means of social insurance or social assistance schemes.

9. Since the Governments of Asian countries may be unable for some time to afford the substantial subsidies required to finance such pension schemes, by reason of the large outlay they have to make for social services to which a higher priority should be accorded, the following measures should be taken as first steps towards making adequate provision against the risks of old age and death:

- (a) the institution of compulsory provident funds for as many categories of workers as possible, and in particular, for all regulated labour;
- (b) the extension of the scope of existing State-managed insurance schemes (such as the postal insurance scheme administered by the Government of India), or the introduction of such schemes for the benefit of persons of small means.

E. *Crop and Cattle Insurance.*

10. With a view to affording a larger measure of income security to cultivators, Governments should consider the possibility of organising crop and cattle insurance schemes, either for the country as a whole or for those parts in which it may be possible to take immediate action.

II. Medical Care

11. Having regard to the predominantly rural character of most Asian countries and their village economy, the absence in many areas or communities of a money economy, the low standard of living of the population in general, the general need for an extension of medical care facilities, and the prevalence of preventable disease, medical care should preferably be provided, not by means of social insurance or social assistance services, but rather by a public medical care service for the whole of the population without contribution conditions or the imposition of a means test, subject to the proviso that social insurance schemes or other schemes for medical care for limited sections of the community, such as industrial workers, should, in suitable circumstances, be inaugurated in advance of the schemes of general medical care where these do not at present exist.

12. In the organisation of medical care services, consideration should be given to the following principles :

- (a) The medical care, general health and sanitation services should be integrated or be closely associated with a view to rendering medical care more effectively by strengthening and extending preventive measures and environmental hygiene.
- (b) Where provision is made for special medical care facilities for wage earners by means of social insurance contributions, such facilities should be provided through, or supervised by, the health authorities administering the public medical care service for the whole population.

PART II

The Conference invites the Governing Body—

(a) to request the Office to undertake detailed studies of the social insurance schemes which have already been implemented or may be under consideration by the Asian countries, such studies to show the extent of application, the scale of benefits, the conditions for the grant of benefits, the administrative organisation, the method of financing, and the total cost of such schemes ;

(b) to convene at an appropriate time a meeting of social security experts from the Asian countries to consider the progress achieved and the special problems encountered, and to indicate the measures which might be taken for the solution of such problems ;

(c) to arrange with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations for effective international consideration of the problem of crop and cattle insurance in Asian countries ;

(d) to communicate to the World Health Organisation for its information this resolution and the report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care ;

(e) to instruct the Office to make available experts on problems of social security to advise any of the Asian countries that may request them ;

(f) to instruct the Office to submit to the next Asian regional conference a survey of the action taken on the basis of this resolution.

(11) Resolution concerning employment service, recruitment and vocational training, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

A. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

1. The wartime developments in the organisation of employment services in Asian countries and their subsequent extension and utilisation for helping to place former service personnel and war workers in employment are noteworthy.

2. The development of a proper employment service organisation is necessary for securing the proper utilisation of national manpower resources and for promoting the mobility of labour and it will also be a useful preliminary to the introduction of unemployment insurance and relief.

3. The Conference therefore expresses the hope that these services will be further expanded so that they will be made available in due course to all employers and workers in the community, and invites the Governments concerned to implement the principles and practices embodied in the International Labour Code as fully as possible in organising the employment services, and recommends to its members, the representatives of Governments as well as those of employers' and workers' organisations, that they take steps to promote the engagement of workers through employment offices where such exist.

4. The Conference requests the Governing Body to draw the attention of Governments of Asian countries to the need for the proper and healthy development of employment services and to instruct the International Labour Office to study, with the assistance of the Governments concerned, the working of these employment services in the light of international experience, with a view to encouraging their healthy and proper development.

B. RECRUITMENT

5. It is the practice of some employers in Asian countries to recruit workers indirectly through agencies such as jobbers, recruiting contractors, kanganis, cais, etc., and frequently in such cases workers fail to understand clearly the terms and conditions of service and incur personal obligations to the recruiting agent or other intermediary.

6. The Conference therefore desires to draw the attention of the Government of the Asian countries to the necessity for taking steps—

- (a) to eliminate within the shortest practicable period all intermediate agencies between the real employers as defined by national laws and regulations and the workers, so that the former will be responsible for the conditions of work, for the payment of wages to the workers and the observance of the statutory regulations such as grant of holidays, etc.; and
- (b) where the absence of suitable employment services administered by public authorities makes the employment of recruiting agents necessary, to frame and enforce regulations to ensure that workers before leaving their homes clearly understand the terms and conditions of

¹ See *Second Part: Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*; pp. 125 and 141, and *Third Part: Appendix IV (2)*.

service, to prevent workers from being placed under any personal obligations to the recruiting agent or other intermediary, and to provide where necessary for the repatriation of workers without cost to themselves.

7. The Conference requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to study, with the assistance of the Governments concerned, the recruitment systems now in force in Asian countries and the steps taken to give effect to these proposals.

C. VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL TRAINING

8. Technical and vocational training is of great importance for improving the skill of the workers so as to increase their productivity and facilitate industrialisation, and Asian countries require assistance in their efforts to organise vocational and technical training in a systematic way.

9. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to study, with the assistance of the Governments concerned, the facilities for vocational and technical training now available in Asian countries, and in the light of international experience to suggest practicable measures for extending and improving them.

D. THE TRAINING OF ASIAN WORKERS IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES

10. The provision of an adequate supply of technical and professional personnel and skilled workers is an indispensable condition for the industrialisation and development programmes proposed to be undertaken in Asian countries with a view to improving the standard of living of the people, but few or no opportunities exist for the securing of technical experience and the acquisition of the skills necessary for the implementation of such programmes.

11. Such skills can be acquired advantageously in countries which have reached a high level of industrialisation and technical development, and experience in the training of Chinese and Indian professional and technical personnel and workers in the United States and the United Kingdom has proved to be beneficial.

12. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to study, in consultation with the Governments and employers' and workers' organisations in industrially developed countries, the possibilities of training Asian technical and professional personnel and skilled workers, and to assist the Governments, in consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations in the countries concerned, to draw up a programme for the systematic training of an adequate number of technical and professional personnel and workers in the various skilled occupations.

E. FURTHER ACTION

13. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution what aspects of these questions could usefully be further considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(12) Resolution concerning wage policy and family budget enquiries, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

A. WAGE POLICY

1. With a view to achieving a living wage for every worker, every effort should be made to improve the wage standards in industries and occupations where they are still low ; and as far as possible to standardise in each country or area the wages in each industry or occupation where conditions are similar.

2. Collective agreements between employers and workers are normally the most satisfactory means for the adjustment of wages, but various reasons, including the comparative lack of organisation among employers and to a much greater degree among workers in many of the Asian countries represented at the Conference, make it necessary for Governments to take an active part in the fixing and enforcement of fair wages.

3. The Conference accordingly requests the Governments of Asian countries to assist, by all means in their power, the conclusion of collective agreements wherever feasible, and where no arrangements exist for effective regulation of wages by collective agreements or otherwise, to formulate appropriate legislative and administrative measures to set up statutory wage boards on which workers and employers will be equally represented, with such numbers of independent persons as may be considered desirable, and with power to fix fair wages and standard wage rates, and to provide cost-of-living allowances measured by index numbers built and periodically revised on the basis of family budget enquiries.

4. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to instruct the Office with the assistance of the Governments concerned to study the working of collective agreements, wage boards and industrial tribunals in Asian countries, and the extent to which they have been successful in securing fair wages for workers, and to suggest, in the light of international experience, what further steps can and should be taken to secure fair wages for all workers.

B. FAMILY BUDGET ENQUIRIES

5. The only effective method of judging the standard of living of workers is by means of family budget enquiries designed to ascertain their income and expenditure and the goods and services which they secure.

6. The Conference therefore recommends for the consideration of the Governments of the countries represented at the Conference the desirability of instituting at regular intervals family budget enquiries, in association with nutrition experts and representatives of workers' and employers' organisations.

7. The Conference also requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to formulate proposals for ensuring that such

¹ See *Second Part : Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*, pp. 125 and 141 ; and *Third Part : Appendix IV (2)*.

enquiries are made on a comparable basis, and to make a study of the results of the enquiries already instituted.

C. FURTHER ACTION

8. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution what aspects of these questions could usefully be further considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(13) Resolution concerning conditions of work and labour welfare, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

1. Great importance attaches to the evolution and enforcement of fair terms of employment which secure for the workers fair and well-defined conditions of work, reasonable security of tenure and opportunities for advancement, consistent with the maintenance of efficiency.

2. The human element in industry is of primary importance and the increase in production is conditioned by the raising of labour welfare and social security standards.

3. The Conference accordingly requests the Governments of Asian countries to take immediate and appropriate measures in this respect and requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office with the assistance of the Governments to study these matters, stressing in particular the steps already taken or proposed to be taken in this direction in the Asian countries.

4. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution what aspects of these questions could usefully be further considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(14) Resolution concerning the protection of children and young workers, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.²

1. The employment of children and young workers is a problem of special importance to many of the peoples of Asia because of the prevalence of child labour in widely diversified trades and occupations where regulation by public authority has not so far been found practicable in respect of the age of admission to employment, conditions of work or provisions for apprenticeship, and because of the limited development of free, compulsory and universal education.

2. The International Labour Conference at its Twenty-seventh Session, 1945, passed a Resolution on the protection of children and young workers, which affirmed that "in order to develop to the fullest extent the capacities of the workers and citizens of the future it is necessary that Govern-

¹ See *Second Part: Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*, pp. 125 and 141; and *Third Part: Appendix IV (2)*.

² *Ibid.*

ments, whilst encouraging the fullest discharge of individual and family obligations, should accept responsibility for assuring the health, welfare and education of all children and young persons ”.

3. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to call the attention of the Governments represented at the Conference to the following measures for improving the protection of children and young workers, which, together with the proposals to be submitted to the Conference by the Committee on Programme of Action, merit consideration with a view to the progressive adoption of such measures at the earliest opportunity compatible with existing social and economic conditions, and further requests the Governing Body to consider, in consultation where appropriate with any other international organisation which may be concerned, what further measures can be taken to implement these standards in the Asian countries.

A. GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

4. Compulsory free education should be continuously expanded as a condition of equal vocational opportunity for all children and young persons ; it should be of a standard and duration to permit adequate physical, intellectual and moral development covering the years up to the general minimum age for admission to employment as provided by national laws and regulations, with additional provisions for young persons to continue education in accordance with their abilities to benefit thereby. The age should be progressively raised towards the international standard as social and economic conditions permit.

5. Provision should be made for expanding progressively the available educational facilities, in accordance with an integrated plan, until general fundamental or basic education shall become accessible to all children of both sexes, and instruction should be designed to meet the actual needs of children and young persons through educational programmes suited to their ages and aptitudes.

6. The vocational interests of children and young persons should be fostered and their eventual selection of employment or a career be guided with a view to promoting their general education and at the same time developing a taste and esteem for work.

7. The needs of pupils for economic assistance should be recognised as circumstances permit, particularly in respect of free use of textbooks, materials and school equipment ; free or low-cost milk and meals ; free or reduced cost of transportation ; and maintenance allowances and student aid as these become practicable.

8. Qualified teaching personnel should be recruited and teacher-training developed to meet the needs of the expanding school system, and standards of remuneration and conditions of employment should be provided which will assure an adequate teaching staff of high quality.

B. VOCATIONAL TRAINING

9. A network of free technical and vocational schools should be developed and extended progressively with a view to meeting, in accordance with their urgency and practicability, the various needs of the national

economy for technical and skilled employees and to providing increasing numbers of young persons with adequate opportunities for developing their technical or trade knowledge in accordance with their occupational interests and aptitudes.

10. Programmes should be adapted to the social and economic requirements of industries, regions, localities and the national economy in accordance with a general plan, and curricula for the courses in different schools and different grades should be co-ordinated to facilitate the transfer and promotion of students in accordance with individual need and merit.

11. Where facilities for such vocational training are lacking or are strictly limited, Governments should initiate schemes for such training and/or grant subsidies to develop or to enlarge existing institutions ; and undertakings should be encouraged where practicable to meet the cost of training young persons in numbers proportionate to their size and need for trained personnel.

12. All technical and trade training should be organised by or be under the supervision of competent public authorities who should act in consultation with the appropriate employers' and workers' organisations.

13. The qualifications required in the examination on termination of technical and vocational training should, as far as practicable, be uniformly fixed for any given occupation or trade and the certificate issued as a result of these examinations should be recognised throughout the country ; persons of both sexes and of all races, creeds and social groupings should be granted the same certificate or diploma on completion of the same studies.

14. Part-time supplementary courses under skilled direction should be provided progressively to make available to young workers, whether or not they have received training before entering employment, the opportunity of extending their trade or technical knowledge.

15. Instruction should be given by qualified personnel, including persons with theoretical knowledge and with practical training and experience, and programmes should be developed progressively for the recruitment, preparation and adequate remuneration of such teachers.

16. Regional, national and international exchange of students and teachers should be promoted to facilitate exchange of knowledge and experience.

C. APPRENTICESHIP

17. As soon as practicable, laws or regulations for the control of apprenticeship of children and young persons should be established progressively and applied under the supervision of competent public authorities acting in co-operation with the appropriate employers' and workers' organisations.

18. Such measures should make provision in respect of—

- (a) the technical and other qualifications required of employers in order that they may take and train apprentices ;
- (b) the conditions governing the entry of young persons into apprenticeship, including the passing of an appropriate medical examination, particularly in the case of hazardous occupations ;

- (c) the minimum age of entry into apprenticeship, which should coincide with the school-leaving age where such age has been established ;
- (d) the mutual rights and obligations of master and apprentice ;
- (e) regulations covering the registration of apprentices, limitation of their numbers, duration of the apprenticeship, standards of performance, methods of supervision, examinations to be conducted and certificates to be awarded, and payment of apprentice wages, including holidays with pay and sick leave, etc.

19. Collaboration should be maintained between the bodies responsible for supervision of apprenticeship and the general and vocational education authorities, including those engaged in vocational guidance, the public employment exchanges and labour inspection services.

D. AGE FOR ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT IN NON-INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS

20. As soon as practicable, measures should be adopted to promote the progressive abolition of child labour in non-industrial occupations as defined by national laws and regulations.

21. When possible, measures should be developed for providing children's allowances and for organising compulsory free education until at least the same age as the minimum age established for admission to employment ; regulations in respect of minimum age for admission to employment should be rapidly and progressively extended to the various types of employment, especially in urban areas, to avoid the attraction of young children into the less regulated and less protected occupations.

22. Where exceptions are made for light work for children, such exceptions should not be permitted for work during school hours or in such manner as to prejudice the beneficial effects of education, and they should be granted only to children who are not more than a specified number of years below the minimum age of employment which has been established.

23. Special attention should be given continuously and progressively to those occupations which by their nature or circumstances are dangerous to the life, health or morals of children or young persons employed therein, such as street trades, itinerant occupations or employment in places to which the public have access, to establish higher minimum ages of admission to employment and to give priority to their regulation.

24. Special attention should be given to the problem of regulating admission to domestic employment, with particular reference to the elimination as soon as possible of the placing of children for quasi-adoption in the family of an employer where they work only for maintenance.

25. In order to ensure the due enforcement of provisions concerning the minimum age for admission to employment in non-industrial occupations as in industry, national laws or regulations should provide as soon as practicable for progressive development and extension of public inspection and supervision, including suitable means for facilitating the identification and supervision of young persons under a specified age in

occupations covered by the law, and penalties for breaches of the said laws or regulations ; these provisions should include some form of documentary proof of age, to be issued free of charge and to be entered in a record to be kept by the employer or young worker in his possession in order to prove his compliance with the law. Such inspection should be carried on by trained and qualified persons, including women, with provision for adequate remuneration and such conditions of employment as will assure the recruitment and maintenance of adequate and suitable staff.

E. PROTECTION OF YOUNG WORKERS

26. Hours of work for young workers under a specified age, when practicable, should be progressively regulated under national laws and regulations to provide limits in all types of occupations, which should be compatible with the maintenance of the health and the educational and recreational needs of children and young persons and which should tend to be less than those provided for adults by law or collective agreements.

27. As soon as practicable, the regulation of night work of young workers under specified ages should be progressively extended to the various categories of employment to prevent undue fatigue and to permit normal and healthy physical, intellectual and moral development.

28. Without prejudice to the fixing of a higher age of admission for certain occupations especially hazardous to life and health, every effort should be made to prescribe special conditions of employment for children and young persons engaged in occupations involving special hazards to the health and safety of the young worker, such provisions to include training in safety methods prior to employment, adequate supervision, periodical medical examination in unhealthy or exacting occupations, and prescription of maximum weight of loads, having regard to the age and sex of the workers and the conditions of work.

F. ADMINISTRATION OF PROTECTIVE POLICIES AND FURTHER ACTION

29. Provision should be made for effective planning and administration of services to promote the welfare of children and young workers, and specialised agencies or personnel under public authority should be established to deal with programmes for the protection of youth with full regard for the interdependence of the various aspects of these programmes.

30. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to study with the assistance of the Governments of Asian countries the problems of young workers in all branches of economic activity and the means of assuring to them the provisions and protections set forth in this resolution.

31. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to place discussion of these questions or some portion of them upon the agenda of the succeeding Asian regional conferences with a view to encouraging further the progressive development of these measures.

(15) Resolution concerning the employment of women and the protection of maternity, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

1. The protection of maternity and promotion of the welfare of women workers is a matter of vital and special importance to all the peoples of Asia because of the low standards of life, lack of education and widespread employment of women on heavy labour which characterise many of these countries and peoples.

2. The Thirtieth Session of the International Labour Conference, 1947, adopted a Resolution concerning women's work, recommending to regional conferences that they consider the problems of women workers in the light of the principles and measures for dealing with these problems adopted by the International Labour Organisation at successive sessions of the Conference.

3. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to call the attention of the Governments of the Asian countries to the following measures for improving the position of the women workers in the countries concerned, which merit consideration together with the proposals to be submitted to the Conference by the Committees on Social Security and Programme of Action with a view to the progressive adoption of such measures.

A. MATERNITY PROTECTION

4. The protection of maternity in accordance with the principles adopted by the Committee on Social Security should cover as many categories of women workers as is administratively feasible, including women in all forms of heavy labour not excepting those employed in large-scale agriculture, such as plantations.

5. Pregnant women and nursing mothers should not be dismissed for that reason; and if the work performed by a pregnant woman or a nursing mother is prejudicial to her health, she should be allowed every facility for a change of work.

6. Children's crèches and day nurseries should be established in expanding numbers, so that the infants and children under school age of working women may be looked after in healthy and safe conditions. The crèches or day nurseries should be located with due regard to the convenience of mother and child, and should be under the direction and supervision of the competent public authority, which should wherever possible utilise the experience and facilities of existing institutions providing such services. Such services should be staffed by trained and qualified persons whose remuneration and conditions of employment should be such as to secure adequate and suitable personnel.

7. Additional social services such as canteens, and provision of milk, essential clothing and layettes should be made available for mother and child as far as practicable from public funds or at low cost.

¹ See *Second Part: Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*, pp. 125 and 141; and *Third Part: Appendix IV (2)*.

B. PROTECTION OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN HEAVY LABOUR

8. Protection from arduous conditions of work should be provided for women workers in occupations involving heavy labour who in some countries or occupations are excluded from protection of the existing laws in respect of hours of work, conditions of work, social security and holidays with pay, etc. ; and this protection should extend to those women who work as helpers or are recruited under a contract system of employment in these occupations.

9. Protection from serious risks to the health of women engaged in these occupations should be provided progressively with special regard for the following considerations :

- (a) Weights to be lifted, carried or loaded or unloaded should be limited by national laws or regulations with due regard to the physique of the worker, the method employed in lifting or carrying, the instruction in such methods to be supplied to the worker, the distances and heights involved and the frequency of lifting or carrying required, in accordance with scientifically established standards.
- (b) Employers should be required to provide separate and suitable accommodation in workplaces to serve as wash rooms, toilets, dressing rooms, etc., for women.
- (c) In the interests of the health and comfort of women workers, employers should be required to provide them with, wherever feasible, a sufficient number of seats at places of work and rest.

10. The foregoing measures of protection should be extended to women in large-scale agriculture or plantations as soon as means and facilities for the enforcement of these measures are available.

C. VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN

11. Facilities and opportunities should be provided progressively for vocational training and employment of women in semi-skilled and skilled occupations which involve dexterity and quickness of movement and are especially adapted to the capacities of women.

12. In view of the widespread illiteracy prevalent among women of many Asian countries, special attention should be given to developing part-time programmes of basic education to reduce illiteracy and provide the education essential for admission to and proper utilisation of vocational training facilities.

D. WAGES OF WOMEN WORKERS

13. Machinery for fixing minimum rates of wages should be applied to traditionally low-paid occupations where a considerable number or proportion of women are employed, with special attention to home industries.

14. In all cases where minimum wage rates are being fixed, the same principles should be applied in determining the rates for women as for men ; in occupations where women predominate care should be taken

that, in estimating the value of the work, the skill which it requires is assessed on the same basis as in the case of occupations where men predominate.

15. In the interests both of men and women workers the principle should be applied of equal pay for work of equal value, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, with a view to establishing procedures for determining wage rates on the basis of job content without regard to sex.

E. INVESTIGATION AND FURTHER ACTION

16. The Conference recommends to the Governments of Asian countries that they investigate the problems of women workers and the means of assuring to them in all branches of economic activity the benefits and protections laid down in this resolution and that specialised agencies or personnel should be provided for this purpose.

17. The Conference, moreover, requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to study with the assistance of the Governments of Asian countries—

- (a) questions relating to the type of occupation other than those involving rough and heavy labour in which the employment of women workers should be encouraged;
- (b) measures necessary for the protection of the health of women workers employed on heavy labour;
- (c) the administrative arrangements needed for carrying out the policies concerning the employment of women embodied in this resolution.

18. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution what aspects of these questions could usefully be further considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(16) Resolution concerning rural labour and related problems, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

A. PRIMARY PRODUCERS IN THE RURAL AREAS

1. The primary producers in the rural areas of Asia constitute more than half of the working people of the world. Their social and economic problems are many and varied in character, and their working and living conditions are in certain areas deplorable and require early improvement.

2. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to assist the Governments of Asian countries, in co-operation with the other international organisations concerned, to prepare and develop comprehensive programmes of action for improving by stages the conditions of life and work of the rural populations in the Asian region with particular reference to—

¹ See *Second Part: Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*, pp. 125 and 141; and *Third Part: Appendix IV (2)*.

- (a) the problems of village artisans, small owner-cultivators, tenant-cultivators and landless labourers ; and
- (b) co-operative organisations in agriculture, the spread of literacy, medical service in rural areas, and relief during famines, floods and other calamities.

B. FORCED LABOUR

3. Some forms of forced labour, illegitimate exactions, and servile land tenure still persist in varying degrees in the agrarian structure of certain areas of some Asian countries, and their existence is not only a denial of the fundamental rights of human beings but also a menace to the speedy and full development of the economy of the areas concerned.

4. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to call the attention of the Governments of Asian countries to the immediate necessity of taking effective steps for the eradication of forced labour and servitude in all their forms where such exist, and to instruct the International Labour Office to study this problem with the assistance of the Governments of the countries concerned.

C. LAND TENURE AND LAND RELATIONSHIP

5. A very large number of persons in Asian countries are cultivators with uneconomic holdings who are in many cases tenants-at-will, and the study and formulation of satisfactory systems of tenure and land relationship are of the utmost importance to them.

6. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to arrange, in co-operation with the appropriate international organisations, for a study to be made of the effect of systems of land tenure and holdings on the conditions of life and work of those engaged in agricultural work, with a view to determining what modifications might be made in existing land relationships so as to increase production, secure for the actual cultivator a fair return for his labour and promote social justice.

D. PERMANENT AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

7. (1) The Asian countries are predominantly agricultural in their economy and an overwhelming majority of the agricultural producers of the world live in them.

(2) Adequate representation for the Asian region on the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labour Organisation is therefore of primary importance.

(3) The Conference accordingly requests the Governing Body to make provision for more adequate representation of the Asian region in the composition of the Permanent Agricultural Committee.

E. FURTHER ACTION

8. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider, in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution, what aspects of these questions could usefully be considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(17) Resolution concerning plantation labour, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

1. Plantation agriculture, producing such important commodities as rubber, cinchona, tea, coffee and sugar cane, occupies an important place in the economy of a number of the tropical countries of Asia.

2. The conditions of life and work of the vast number of labourers engaged in many of these plantations in certain countries are unsatisfactory, particularly in respect of recruitment, wages, housing and freedom of association, and are not adequately regulated by national legislation or otherwise.

3. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body—

- (a) to call the attention of the Governments concerned to the immediate necessity for enacting appropriate legislation for improving the conditions of plantation workers so as to bring them to a satisfactory level, particularly in respect of recruitment, wages, housing, hours of work, workmen's compensation, maternity benefit, freedom of association, and social security measures;
- (b) to direct the International Labour Office to undertake, with the assistance of the Governments concerned, a special study of the problems which are peculiar to plantation labour; and
- (c) to give early consideration to the question of the setting up of an industrial committee to consider the special problems of plantation workers in the Asian countries.

4. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider, in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution, what aspects of these questions could usefully be considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(18) Resolution concerning aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.²

1. Aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes in various Asian countries, due to their extreme backwardness and ignorance, suffer from special disabilities, disadvantages and exploitation in economic and social spheres, particularly in regard to opportunities and conditions of employment, and the problems of these sections of the population require special attention and treatment.

2. The Conference therefore draws the attention of the Governments of the Asian countries concerned to the necessity of taking immediate steps for the amelioration of the conditions of the aboriginal tribes and untouchable castes and it requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to assist the Governments of the countries concerned in a study of these problems.

¹ See *Second Part : Twelfth and Thirteenth Sittings*, pp. 125 and 141; and *Third Part : Appendix IV (2)*.

² *Ibid.*

3. The Conference further requests the Governing Body in the light of the progress made in these studies to place one or more aspects of these questions on the agenda of future sessions of the Asian Regional Conference.

(19) Resolution concerning housing, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

1. Housing conditions for the great mass of people in many of the countries of Asia have long been of low standard and have further very much deteriorated since the war. The problem is furthermore made more acute as a result of the movement of population into industrial areas during recent years.

2. The formulation of a policy designed to improve housing conditions is both important and urgent because decent housing conditions are essential for the health and efficiency of the workers.

3. The Conference therefore requests the Governing Body to call the attention of the Governments of Asian countries to the necessity of devising immediate and effective ways and means to provide proper housing for workers.

4. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to assist the Governments by undertaking, in consultation, where appropriate, with any other international organisations which may be concerned, a systematic, comprehensive and comparative study, in the light of international experience, of the problems of housing the urban and rural populations of Asian countries, particularly in regard to the provision of finance, materials, town-planning, location of industries, fixation of land values, fixation of rents, subsidies, etc., and to refer these questions to succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(20) Resolution concerning small-scale cottage and handicraft industries, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.²

1. Industrial home and handicraft workers greatly outnumber workers in factories and industrial and commercial establishments; their number is likely to increase even with the development of large-scale industry and their protection requires urgent and careful study.

2. In the progress of industrialisation the countries of Asia should devote attention not only to remedying the evils caused by industrial concentration, but also to preventing such evils to the greatest possible extent.

3. Although the introduction of the steam engine and the consequent industrial development in Western countries produced concentration of manpower and capital, various factors, including the use of light petrol motors and small electric motors, today enable a large number of industries

¹ See *Second Part: Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*, pp. 125 and 141; and, *Third Part: Appendix IV (2)*.

² *Ibid.*

to be decentralised. An opportunity is thus offered to the countries of Asia to embark upon a new procedure of industrialisation, better suited to their traditions and aspirations, and likely in certain conditions to avoid some of the evils caused by the industrial revolution in Western countries.

4. The Conference therefore considers that efforts should be made in the countries of Asia to establish, where feasible, branches of industrial production on the basis of small domestic and handicraft industries.

5. The Conference accordingly requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office, in consultation where appropriate with any other international organisations which may be concerned—

(a) to assist the Governments of the countries of Asia to devise means of protecting the workers engaged in these industries and of organising these industries, especially on co-operative and federated lines, so that small and autonomous undertakings can benefit from the financial, technical and commercial advantages normally enjoyed by undertakings in large-scale industry; and

(b) to make comparative studies of the problems affecting industrial home, cottage and handicraft workers.

6. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution what aspects of these questions could usefully be further considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(21) Resolution concerning co-operation, submitted by the Committee on Labour Policy.¹

1. Universal experience long since established not only in the countries of other continents but also in the majority of the countries of Asia has demonstrated the part which the different categories of rural co-operatives, handicraftsmen's co-operatives, workers' productive co-operatives, consumer co-operatives and housing co-operatives are able to play in the economic and social betterment of the working populations of rural areas and industrial centres.

2. In particular, co-operative institutions of all categories are able to contribute substantially, in the interests of the community at large, to the liberation of primary producers, handicraft workers and domestic industries from usury in all its forms; to their guidance in the complexity of market economy; and to the improvement of their economic position, the improvement of techniques, the increase of productivity and the reduction of costs of production and distribution.

3. Furthermore, they are, or can become, efficacious instruments of education, by inculcating habits of providence, thrift and hygiene, by diffusing general enlightenment among their members, by imparting training in the handling of economic matters, and by developing, owing to the democratic method of their administrations, qualities of initiative and a sense of responsibility.

¹ See *Second Part: Twelfth and Thirteenth Sitzings*, pp. 125 and 141; and *Third Part: Appendix IV (2)*.

4. For all these reasons, it is desirable that the development and operation of co-operative organisations should be included to the fullest possible extent in all the plans of economic and social reconstruction of Asian countries.

5. The very efficacy of co-operative organisations, which are essentially voluntary associations, depends upon the preparatory and continuing education and training of their leaders and members. But, at the same time, in view of the historical, geographical and economic circumstances peculiar to the majority of Asian countries, the development of the co-operative movement according to plan and on a sound basis calls for the promotion and supervision of co-operative organisations by Government.

6. The Conference therefore calls the attention of the Governments of Asian countries to the following :

- (a) Elements which may still obstruct the full development and free functioning of genuine co-operative organisations should be eliminated where they exist in the national laws and regulations and in social and economic institutions.
- (b) The staffs and administrative methods of Government departments charged with promoting the development of the co-operative organisations should be adapted to the necessities of such development.
- (c) A comprehensive and continuous effort should be made with the full technical and financial support of the public authorities, to extend the teaching of co-operation so as to reach all classes of the population and simultaneously to train leaders, administrators and a competent executive staff for the co-operative movement.
- (d) Co-operative organisations should be progressively associated in the preparation and execution of co-ordinated economic plans to the full extent of their capacity and in a manner compatible with their inherent principles and their administrative autonomy.
- (e) Periodical regional meetings should be held to provide to officials of the co-operative departments as well as representatives of the co-operative organisations in Asian countries opportunities of pooling their experiences, comparing the results of their work, improving their methods and discussing and devising means of encouraging the establishment of direct trade relations between co-operative societies of Asian countries, the International Labour Office being informed of the work of such conferences.

7. The Conference requests the Governing Body to convene, at an early date, a conference of experts in co-operation to study these problems and submit suitable recommendations for further action in the light of the organisation and achievements of the co-operative movement in other countries, the difficulties met with and the manner in which they have been overcome.

8. The Conference invites the Governing Body to draw the attention of Governments to the importance attached by the present Conference to the inclusion in delegations to future conferences of persons having experience of co-operative movements.

9. The Conference further requests the Governing Body to consider in the light of the progress made in the studies undertaken on the basis of this resolution what aspects of these questions could usefully be further considered by succeeding Asian regional conferences.

(22) Resolution concerning programmes of action, submitted by the Committee on Programme of Action.¹

Whereas, in the process of economic and social development now taking place in Asian countries, it is essential that the international standards for the protection of workers as embodied in Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference should be implemented as fully and as early as possible ; and

Whereas, although these standards are not, in all cases, immediately attainable by all Asian countries, it is important that effective steps should be taken for the progressive application of these standards ;

The Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation adopts this eighth day of November 1947 the following resolution :

I

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

1. The recognition of the principle of freedom of association and the effective guarantee of the right to organise and to bargain collectively are indispensable for the improvement of labour standards and should be accepted by all Asian countries.

II

LABOUR INSPECTION

2. The maintenance of an adequate system of labour inspection is an essential guarantee for the proper application of measures for the protection of labour.

3. The Labour Inspection Convention, 1947, should be ratified by all Asian Members of the Organisation ; it should also be applied to the non-metropolitan territories in Asia in accordance with the provisions of Articles 30 and 31 thereof.

4. Where the provisions of the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947, cannot be applied immediately to non-metropolitan territories, the provisions of the Labour Inspectorates (Non-Metropolitan Territories) Convention, 1947, should be applied as a first step.

5. The Conference requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to place the organisation of labour inspection on the agenda of the Asian regional conference to be held in China in 1949.

¹ See *Second Part: Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sitzings*, pp. 141 and 153 ; and *Third Part: Appendix V (2)*.

6. As a first step towards securing an efficient labour inspection service for the proper enforcement of labour legislation in Asian countries, a technical conference of representatives of Government labour inspection services in the Asian region should be summoned as soon as possible to study in the first instance problems relating to inspection in agricultural and industrial undertakings. It is suggested for the consideration of the Governing Body that the terms of reference of such a technical conference might include the following matters :

- (a) the adoption of suitable schemes for the recruitment and training of labour inspectors with a view to securing uniformly high standards of inspection ;
- (b) the standardisation of the collection and publication of information obtained by labour inspectors in the various countries ;
- (c) the desirability of the employment of women in labour inspection services ;
- (d) the formulation of plans for securing the efficient co-operation of employers' and workers' organisations in the enforcement of measures intended to ameliorate working and living conditions.

7. The Conference takes note with the deepest appreciation of the invitation by the Government of Ceylon that the above mentioned technical conference of representatives of labour inspection services should be held in Ceylon as early as possible and that the Ceylon Government will be pleased to afford all necessary facilities for the purpose. The Conference trusts that the Governing Body will find it possible to accept this invitation and to make the necessary arrangements to convene a conference of representatives of labour inspection services on the lines indicated above and that the findings of the Conference will be submitted to the Asian regional conference to be held in China in 1949.

III

NATIONAL PROGRAMMES OF ACTION

8. Each Asian country should prepare a national programme of action for a period of years consisting of proposals for the progressive application, by stages where necessary, of the existing international labour standards for submission to the Asian regional conference to be held in China in 1949.

9. In framing such programmes of action, regard should be paid to the decisions of the present Conference and the following subjects :

- (a) application and extension of the 48-hour week ;
- (b) regulation and limitation of hours of work in establishments including plantations, to which the 48-hour week is not practicable of application ;
- (c) establishment of suitable wage-fixing machinery ;
- (d) provision of weekly rest periods, holidays with pay and the elimination of all forms of forced labour ;

- (e) promotion of industrial health and safety for workers ;
- (f) provision against risks brought about by employment injury, occupational diseases, sickness and involuntary unemployment, and maternity protection ;
- (g) prohibition of night work for women and young persons ;
- (h) regulation of the age of admission to employment—in particular, measures for promoting the elimination of child labour ; and
- (i) measures for the elimination of abuses associated with recruitment of labour.

Governments should ensure the fullest possible consultation and co-operation with the employers' and workers' organisations in their respective countries in the drawing up and implementation of such national programmes of action.

IV

LABOUR STANDARDS

10. In securing the progressive implementation, by means of such national programmes of action, of the standards laid down in the international labour Conventions and Recommendations, special attention should be directed by all Asian countries to the provisions of the following Conventions :

- (1) Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, 1919.
- (2) Hours of Work (Coal Mines) (Revised) Convention, 1935.
- (3) Minimum Age (Industry) (Revised) Convention, 1937.
- (4) Night Work (Women) (Revised) Convention, 1934.
- (5) Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention, 1928.
- (6) Placing of Seamen Convention, 1920.
- (7) Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925.
- (8) Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Convention, 1925.
- (9) Maternity Protection Convention, 1919.
- (10) Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934.
- (11) Sickness Insurance (Industry, etc.) Convention, 1927.
- (12) Sickness Insurance (Sea) Convention, 1936.
- (13) Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921.
- (14) Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936.
- (15) Forced Labour Convention, 1930.

The Asian regional conference to be held in China in 1949 should consider, on the basis of the reports to be supplied by Governments, the progress being made with a view to the ratification and application of these Conventions and the extent to which modifications, if any, of their provisions may be necessary to permit of their application in the Asian countries.

V

SCOPE OF LABOUR LEGISLATION

11. Every effort should be made to extend the scope of existing labour legislation to include workers and workplaces not so far within its protection.

VI

EXPERT ASSISTANCE

12. The International Labour Organisation should, in accordance with Article 10 of the Constitution of the Organisation as amended in 1946, afford all appropriate assistance within its power to Asian countries in the preparation and execution of programmes for the progressive application of international labour standards, and more particularly in the framing of laws and regulations on the basis of the decisions of the International Labour Conference and regional conferences and in the improvement of administrative practices and systems of labour inspection.

VII

PERIODICAL REPORTS

13. The Asian countries represented at the Conference should be asked by the Governing Body to submit periodical reports, at intervals of not more than two years, on action taken to give effect to this resolution and indicating, more particularly, the nature and scope of the protection afforded, the scale and duration of the benefits, the machinery set up to give effect to the provisions of the Conventions, the number of workers covered by the various protective and regulative measures, the nature, type and number of undertakings to which they are applied, the circumstances in which relaxations, if any, have been allowed and such other information as may be necessary to judge the extent to which important labour standards are being progressively applied and extended.

Copies of such reports should be communicated to representative organisations of employers and workers in the countries concerned.

14. The Governing Body of the International Labour Office is requested—

- (a) to give special consideration to the Conventions specified in paragraph 10 of this Resolution when fixing a programme for the preparation of the reports on the action taken to give effect to unratified Conventions provided for in the Constitution of the Organisation as amended in 1946;
- (b) to place the question of the progressive implementation of the International Labour Code on the agenda of the Asian regional conference to be held in China in 1949 and to instruct the Office to submit, in connection therewith, one or more reports analysing and commenting upon the reports received from the Governments of various Asian countries concerning the progress made by them to give effect to the provisions of this resolution.

(23) Resolution concerning statistics, submitted by the Committee on Programme of Action.¹

Whereas the proper collection, analysis and interpretation of statistical data are important in the pursuit of progressive social and labour policies ;

Whereas, for the co-ordination of such statistics, either on a regional or on an international basis, they must be collected and interpreted in accordance with common standards ;

Whereas the compilation of labour statistics is still in its early stages and requires to be developed, as far as practicable, along well-defined and internationally accepted lines ;

Whereas the statistical techniques to be used depend largely on the stage of social and economic evolution of the countries concerned and suitable methods have to be devised to meet the requirements of Asian countries which are more or less similar ; and

Whereas the conditions in Asian countries are such that a regional approach to the problem of compiling statistics on an adequate basis is likely to lead fruitful results :

The Conference requests the Governing Body to arrange, in consultation with Asian countries, for an early meeting of labour statisticians from Asian countries together with such others as the Governing Body may invite, to survey the existing organisation for the collection, analysis, interpretation and dissemination of statistical data relating to labour conditions in Asia and to submit recommendations on the following points among others :

- (a) the extent to which population censuses could be utilised for the collection of data regarding labour conditions ;
- (b) the need for evolving a system of comparable standard occupational classifications which can be integrated with international classifications ;
- (c) the scope, method and programme of statistical enquiries regarding the earnings, conditions of work and cost of living of the worker ;
- (d) the technique to be adopted for collecting employment data in such wide fields as agriculture, unorganised industries, the distributive trades, etc., for which returns by individual undertakings may not be suitable ;
- (e) the measures necessary to enable Asian countries to ratify international labour Convention (No. 63) concerning statistics of wages and hours of work, 1938, within a brief period ;
- (f) the training of statistical staff for field investigations, and the compilation and interpretation of labour statistics.

¹ See *Second Part : Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sitzings*, pp. 141 and 153 ; and *Third Part : Appendix V (2)*.

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Report of Committee on social security: amendment to paragraph 6 (a)
of resolution 100, 114

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